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From the Philanthropist.

Remarks on Mr. Rankin's Reply.—The duty of the Citizen.

Mr. Rankin is aware of the advantage of presenting in controversy a bold front. Hence, we presume, in part at least, the apparent self-confidence with which he treats the question at issue between us, and the positiveness of his assumption, that we are all wrong. With candor, as we think, we have examined his last paper, but our wonder still increases, that such a man as Mr. Rankin should devote his talents to the support of a ticket pledged to slavery.

Our friend is kind enough to give us more credit for the "length of our article than strength of our arguments."—We remark, that to assume is not to argue. Statement without proof, assumption without argument, cost little labor, and require small space. We too, could express *opinions* in two or three paragraphs, whose unsoundness it might require half a dozen columns to expose. Did our years and wisdom warrant, it might be safe for us to venture on this mode of discussion, but lacking in these two points, we must be content with the more humble, though tedious method, of *reasoning out* our propositions.

A BRIEF REVIEW.

So much in apology for the length of our articles. The reader will recollect, that a careful analysis of Mr. Rankin's former letter brought to light three distinct positions, which we undertook to invalidate. The first was, that where the candidates of the two parties were openly hostile to abolition, and formally pledged to the slave power, in an equal degree, it was the duty of an Abolitionist to vote for that one who he believed, upon the whole, would do most for the country. It was supported by no argument, but we objected to it for four reasons. 1. It implied a contradiction. 2. While maintained, slavery could not be abolished. 3. It involved the support of slave laws, and slaveholding policy. 4. It involved, necessarily, a violation of good faith. These reasons were urged at length, but Mr. Rankin has seen fit in reply to notice only the third one.

Another position was, should he withdraw from the polls, or support a third ticket, his vote in effect would be cast for Martin Van Buren. Our strictures on this position, Mr. Rankin has not attempted to answer.

The third position was, that the strength and depravity of the democratic, and the comparative weakness and virtue of the Whig party, constituted a sufficient reason why Abolitionists should vote with the latter. We examined the position at great length, and attempted to show its utter unsoundness. To all our remarks on this point, Mr. Rankin has nothing in reply.

We next stated briefly, six reasons why Abolitionists had nothing more to hope from the Whigs, if in power, than the Democrats. Not one of them has Mr. Rankin replied to.

Finally, we made some strictures on the wretched policy of attempting to forward our cause, by playing into the hands of this or that party, according as the one or the other might be undermost, and, therefore, a little less audacious.

This part of article also has been overlooked by Mr. Rankin.

Our former argument then stands untouched, save in a single point, and that is, the atttempt to prove, that to vote for either of the candidates for the Presidency now before the American people, is to sustain slavery.

We shall notice briefly Mr. Rankin's remarks upon this point, and then consider the rest of his argument.

M. Van Buren and W. H. Harrison are both pledged, so far as language and conduct can pledge any men, to support slavery, to countenance the demands of the slave power, and to oppose abolition. I affirm that every man who votes for either, votes for his pledge,—that is, he votes for slavery, and against abolition. Mr. Rankin denies it, and sustains his denial by a single illustration, which we shall give entire, as it contains the whole of his argument on this point.

MR. RANKIN'S ILLUSTRATION.

"You say, to vote for either of the candidates is to sustain slavery. This I positively deny; and assert that he who does not vote for the more favorable party, does sustain slavery. Now I will illustrate this by saying, there were two distant islands in the ocean. The inhabitants were idolaters. Missionaries settled on each, and labored with equal success. A few thousand were converted on each island. At length the chiefs that had tolerated Christianity died, and according to their custom, chiefs were to be elected. Christianity had excited jealousy. On each island two candidates came before the people, both idolaters. One said that he, if chosen, would extirpate Christianity, the other, that he hated Christianity, but he thought every one ought to have the right of choosing his own religion; and as long as the Christians behaved well, he would protect them as well as others, but he meant to promote idolatry by his own influence and example. The question of duty was much discussed among the Christians, and they were divided. One part said it was wrong to vote for an idolater, the other, perhaps less conscientious, said it was right to vote for the one who would tolerate Christianity, although an idolater. The others said, to vote for an idolater was to sustain idolatry. Christianity is the primary interest, and all others are of minor importance—if they could not get a Christian candidate they would not vote. Thus matters stood on both islands. An appeal was made to the missionaries, and they were divided in opinion. On one island the missionaries said it was sinful to vote for an idolater, who was pledged to support idolatry, they ought to stay from the polls, do right, and leave the consequences with God. The missionaries on the other island said, that by electing a chief who would tolerate Christianity, although an idolater, would be some gain to the cause of Christ, for unless they were tolerated, they could not evangelize the island, and to vote for an idolater in such a case was to sustain Christianity, and not idolatry. The honest-hearted people on both islands laid down their disputes and took the advice of the missionaries. On the one island the Christians stood back from the polls, and for want of their votes the candidate in favor of tolerating Christianity, lost his election, and the other, according to his pledge, drove every Christian from the island, and established perpetual idolatry. On the other island, by the assistance of the Christians, the candidate in favor of toleration was elected, and the Christians were protected in the exercise of their religion.

"When he heathen saw that their chief protected the Christians as others, they were encouraged to hear the gospel and forsake idolatry, and in a short time the island became evangelized, and the chief himself became a Christian. Now the good and conscientious class of Christians who would not vote for an idolater, because inconsistent, as they said, with their profession, and would sustain idolatry, perished in their goodness, and idolatry triumphed. The less conscientious and half-hearted Christians who voted for an idolater, were saved in their wickedness and then put down idolatry. They were as wise as they were pious. They exercised good common sense. And Abolitionists must do the same if ever they succeed."

Mr. Rankin's illustration is intended to show that, as there may be a case in which it shall be proper to vote for an idolater, so circumstances may occur in which it shall be right to vote for a slaveholder.

If we had ever laid down the broad proposition, that the act of voting for a slaveholder, in itself, and therefore under all circumstances, was wrong, the illustration might be in point. But, we have never made such an assumption. We have not found it necessary. The ground we take, is, that where certain candidates for office are pledged to abstain from one line of policy or pursue another, those who support such candidates, sanction and sustain their pledges; and that where a party professes to hold certain leading principles, and avows the design to carry out a set of leading measures, the man who votes with that party, sanctions its principles and sustains its measures. This, the common sense of every man will admit to be true, as a general rule. Now, John Tyler, and Richard M. Johnson are set up as candidates for the Vice Presidency, because they are *slaveholders*. M. Van Buren and W. H. Harrison are supported as candidates for the Presidency, expressly on the ground that they will oppose abolition, and sustain slavery. Both parties hereby stand pledged to anti-abolition principles and measures. According to the rule laid down, therefore, the men who support such candidates, sanction their principles and support their measures.

Mr. Rankin's reply to this, is, that as in an extreme case it may be right for a Christian to vote for an idolater, so it may be right for an Abolitionist to vote for these slaveholding and pro-slavery candidates. That is, he reasons from an extreme case to an ordinary one. He would enlarge, a principle of duty limited to an exception, into a general principle. He would make a certain course of action, (excusable it may be, under a peculiar combination of circumstances,) the measure of our duty where no such circumstances exist. To make his illustration bear at all, he must suppose the following particulars:

1st. That the President of the United States has constitutional power to put down free discussion, and murder or banish all its advocates.

2d. That one of the candidates now claiming our suffrages, has announced his determination, if elected, to exterminate abolitionism, to banish every Abolitionist from the country, and to prevent any body from speaking one word against slavery; and that there is every probability that he will succeed in executing his purpose.

3d. That the rival candidate has claimed our support on the ground that, although his influence and example will be in favor of slaveholding, he will recognize the right of discussing that subject as well as any other, and protect Abolitionists in the exercise of their rights.

This would be a case parallel to the one supposed by Mr. Rankin; and the principle of duty applicable in the one would be applicable in the other. But, is this the case presented to Abolitionists? Why ask such a question? Every one knows that no such circumstances exist in the instance of the candidates now before us.

Every critical reader, no doubt, has observed that, in the illustration, the question at issue between the candidates is not, which of them shall manifest greater friendship for idolatry, or which will do the more for its support. The great question is—*the rights of conscience:* one candidate pledging himself to regard and protect them, the other, to prohibit their exercise.

In the parallel case of slaveholding candidates, where one should proclaim his intention to exterminate abolitionism, and banish Abolitionists, and the other, while avowing himself a friend of slavery, should bind himself to maintain the right of freely discussing the subject, and to protect Abolitionists in their warfare against it, the main questions at issue would be,—not slavery and abolition,—but the rights of thought and utterance, and personal security; one candidate seeking office on the ground of his hostility to these rights, the other, on the ground of his friendship to them.

But what is the great question involved in the pending election, so far as Abolitionists are concerned? Not the rights of conscience—not freedom of discussion—not the personal security of Abolitionists. The President has no prerogative that can reach these rights. Neither candidate has avowed any hostility to them. In equally emphatic terms, both have averred their belief in the right of free discussion, and we have no reason to suppose that either would commit any unconstitutional act against it. What, then, is the great question? That of slavery. On this, both candidates are equally wrong,—holding precisely the same doctrines, pledged to precisely the same policy. Both affect to think the agitation of the question inconsistent with the spirit and general tenor of the Constitution, at war with the fundamental principles of our government. Both manifest equal regard for the pretensions of the slaveholder. Both will discountenance any measures that can act unfavorably on slavery. Both rest their claims, on this ground among others, that they are decidedly and wholly opposed to abolition.

Now, let us take Mr. Rankin's illustration, and so shape it as to make it a case *really* parallel to the one under consideration.

We will suppose that the Christians constitute a majority on the islands mentioned. That there is really no question concerning religious toleration among them, both candidates for office being favorable to the rights of conscience. That the main question involved, is the direct support of *idolatry*. That both candidates are rivalling each other in professions of hatred to Christianity, and devotion to false gods. That both stand pledged to promote the worship of the latter, and oppose the worship of the true God. That the Christians are divided in opinion respecting whether they shall have a stone or iron currency—whether they shall throw open their ports to all nations, or a few favored ones; whether they shall do their own carrying trade, or permit others to do it for them. That one party of Christians, seeing they can promote their peculiar views on these topics, vote for one of the idolatrous candidates, and that the opposite party vote for the other. Let us ask Mr. Rankin, would they not all, in thus acting, be sustaining idolatry, and warring against Christianity? The case seems to us so plain, that we are amazed there should be two opinions respecting it. The supposed case is a fair illustration of the real case now before us.

THE NATURE AND EFFECT OF A VOTE.

A few words more on this point. Why should Mr. Rankin draw general rules from exceptions? Sound logic teaches otherwise. The man who votes with the whig party, votes for all the principles it avows, and the measures it proposes. The man who votes with the democratic party, sustains democratic doctrines and policy. There may be some points, in which he differs from the party, some principles he disallows, some measures he cannot approve. He does not *intend* to sustain them; his object is, to promote other principles which he approves, of greater moment than those he repudiates. Nevertheless, his vote cannot be divided, so as to tell in favor of one, and against the other.—If it support one measure or principle, it must support all, because it contributes to the election of a man pledged to all. Common sense so teaches. Now, if the supporter of the democratic party condemns its measures, on certain subjects of greater importance in his estimation, than the other subjects, on which he may deem its action correct, no one will give him much credit for consistency. Suppose, however, the former class of subjects be moral in their nature, and that the policy of the party respecting them be immoral, then every one must pronounce him, not only inconsistent, but criminal.

No matter what his intentions are, he cannot control the effect of his vote, so that it shall support what is right and not support what is wrong. When his vote is given, its undivided political force and moral influence go to sustain every principle and every measure which the party had avowed.

Mr. Rankin, although a whig, would vote with the democratic party, if it were sound on the subject of human rights and his own were not. Suppose this were the case, and that from year to year he thus should cast his vote. His sole intention would be, to promote the cause of the slave; but will he deny that at the same time he would be voting in support of democratic principles? His vote would count just as much in favor of the latter as the former. Such would not be his intention, but that is not the question. We are considering the real nature and effect of the vote itself. His vote would count just as much in support of democratic principles, as if he intended to promote them—just as much as the vote of one who should sustain the party expressly on this ground and no other.

But, could not Mr. Rankin, as a professed whig, be accused of inconsistency, in thus acting? Not so long as he recognized abolition, or the cause of human rights, as the greatest interest. If he did not so recognize it, if he believed it of minor importance, his conduct would be obviously unreasonable. But, suppose it were a leading and an avowed principle of the democratic party, to abolish the Sabbath, or to support intemperance, could Mr. Rankin then justify himself in supporting it, on the ground that it was the champion of human rights? Not consistently with his own principles. For, he believes the Sabbath is an ordinance of God, and that intemperance is a sin. No reason then, not even an intention of supporting a good cause, could justify him in voting for the abolition of the former, or the support of the latter, which he would do, were he to give his suffrage to the democratic candidates.

We know not why Mr. Rankin should deny in its application to the case of an abolitionist, voting for Harrison, the truth of a principle, so generally recognized in other instances. Did not the coffee-house advocates in Cincinnati think they were supporting coffee-houses, when they voted for men pledged to sustain them? Did not the anti-coffee-house men think they were supporting the cause of temperance, when they bestowed their suffrages on men pledged against the license system? Does not the whig throw his vote for a national bank or tariff, when he gives it to a candidate pledged to use his influence in behalf of both? Did not the democrat, when he voted for General Jackson, sanction and sustain the doctrine that the creation of a national bank was unconstitutional? General Jackson certainly thought so, and so did every body else. And, will not the Abolitionist, who votes for Martin Van Buren, when he knows that this gentleman has pledged himself to veto any bill that may be passed for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, sustain this pledge? How happens it then, that a principle which is true in other cases, should be false, when Mr. Rankin wishes to vote for Gen. Harrison? He too has pledged himself as strongly to the slaveholder as his antagonist, but Mr. Rankin only votes for his good, not bad principles! Does the vote tell this? or does it elect the *whole* man, and *all* his principles. The strongest protest we can bear against the wrong principles of a candidate, is to cast our votes for a man of opposite principles. The strongest sanction we can give to his wrong principles is to support him by our votes.

So much for the assumption, that in voting for a ticket pledged to slavery, we do not sustain slave-laws and slave-policy.

OTHER INTERESTS.

In Mr. Rankin's former article, he intimated, that there were other interests to be cared for beside abolition. In his last article he gives his views more fully on this point. We shall quote the substance of his argument.

"I will now state my position so as to give you every possible advantage.

1st. The anti-slavery cause is of the highest interest.
2d. The protection of the Indians the next.
3d. The security of the liberty we now possess
4th. The establishing of a bank that may regulate the currency over the country so as to prevent those sudden changes which enable capitalists to buy up the property of the poor for small amounts.

Here then are four important interests.

Now I will give you all possible advantage by supposing, what is not the fact, that Van Buren and Harrison and the parties they represent are equally hostile to the highest interest, so that with respect to it there is no difference.—These two men have been brought before the nation as candidates for the Presidency, and the abolitionists a small minority in a pro-slavery government could not prevent their nomination, and now it is certain that one of them must be the president; abolitionists cannot hinder the election of a pro-slavery president. One of these two men we know will be president unless death prevent it. All that can be done now is simply to say which of them shall be president.—Now supposing them to be equally hostile to freeing the slaves, we do the anti-slavery cause no injury in voting for any one of them. Abolitionists and slaves will fare just as well under the one as the other. But if one of them be in any respect more favorable to liberating the slaves than the other, and we do not vote for the one more favorable to liberty then we sustain slavery; but if there be an entire equality in the candidates, then we neither do good nor harm to the anti-slavery cause in voting for the one or the other.

Now then for argument's sake we will suppose the candidates and parties they represent upon an entire equality in relation to the first interest and that it can, of course, receive neither benefit nor injury by the election, or defeat of one or the other candidate. It is a case in which abolitionists can neither benefit nor injure their cause by voting;—but there are three other important interests at stake. Harrison and his whigs are in favor of administering the government as administered by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams."

A STRANGE ASSUMPTION.

"One of these two men will be president, unless death prevent it. All that can be done now is simply to say which of them shall be president."

Let us ask Mr. Rankin a few questions. Is it not wrong that candidates for office in a republic should be slaveholders, or men in favor of the system of slavery? Is it not wrong for a republican people to elect rulers on the ground that they are favorable to the continuance of oppression? If it be wrong for the people to do so, we should like to know on whose shoulders the responsibility rests. Are the people, as a body, criminal, and the individuals composing the body innocent? Who then are to blame for the election of such men? Somebody must be in the wrong, for it certainly is a sin and a dishonor, that such men should be put into office. Will Mr. Rankin say that the guilt attaches to those who brought them forward? They are guilty, we grant; but, to nominate, is not to elect. The election rests with the people. If they withhold their suffrages, such men cannot be elected. If they sustain them, the candidates are elected. The *people* then are the criminals.—But who are the people? Mr. Rankin, Mr. Blanchard, abolitionists, anti-abolitionists. If all vote for such men, all are alike wrong. If not, if Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Rankin may vote for such men, without guilt, so may their neighbors, so may the whole people. It is not wrong then for the people to elect candidates determined to support slavery and if it be not wrong to elect them, neither is it wrong to nominate them. It avails nothing to say, that there are only two candidates, and one must be elected. Grant it, but since it was wrong to put such men in nomination, and since it is wrong for the people to elect them, I as one of the people, will have nothing to do with them. I, at least, will clear my own skirts.

Were two candidates before the American people, electioneering for themselves, on the ground that they were gamblers, or in favor of licensing the practice of gambling, we should think those who nominated and the majority who supported them little better than themselves. But, Mr. Rankin, by some legerdemain of logic would come to the conclusion, that though it was wrong certainly for the people to put such men in office, yet it would not be wrong for him to help them there! And is he not one of the people! If he may vote for either innocently, so may the whole people.

Two horse thieves are running for the highest office.—(Our comparisons are harsh, but we have to use them for the sake of demonstrating a principle.) Both declare themselves in favor of the practice of horse-stealing, and of repealing all laws against theft, so far as they relate to this particular species. Well—"two candidates are before the American people," says Mr. Rankin. "One of these two men we know will be president, unless death prevent it.—All that can be done now is simply to say, which shall be president. So I will vote for the one who on the whole will do most for the country." Admirable logic truly! Because other people will do evil. I will go along with the multitude, and it will be no wrong in me, since the evil would be done any how!

THE MISCHIEF DONE BY PRO-SLAVERY VOTING.

Again, he says:

"Now supposing them to be equally hostile to freeing the slaves, we do the anti-slavery cause no harm in voting for any one of them."

"It is a case in which abolitionists can neither benefit nor injure their cause by voting."

That is, the honest man can do the cause of sound morals no harm, by voting for a horsethief or gambler, who is electioneering for himself, and electioneered for, on the ground of his peculiar vices! Can Mr. Rankin really believe so? Or was this a slip of his pen?

The Abolitionist does injury to his cause by supporting either of the slavery tickets now before the people, for many reasons.

1. His vote necessarily goes to sustain slave laws and slave policy.

2. He fails to exemplify his principles, where the moral indifference of fidelity would be peculiarly felt.

3. He impairs his reputation for sincerity with his own party, but especially with men of opposite political views, and with the slaveholder; beside lowering in the public estimation the grandeur of his own cause.

4. He is countenancing, by his vote the abominable practice of subordinating the great questions of human liberty, to questions for the most part of mere political economy.

5. He is encouraging politicians always to disregard the principles of anti-slavery men, in the selection of their candidates.

6. He is only postponing a policy which must be adopted if slavery is to be abolished by peaceful means, and which the longer it is postponed, will be the more difficult to be practised, viz: uniting with other anti-slavery men, in voting only for anti-slavery candidates.

7. By thus uniting, his consistent voting would recommend his talking, and would teach politicians at once that certain defeat would always attend a pro-slavery policy.—Mr. Rankin knows that, if but fifty thousand Abolitionists would unite and vote a liberty ticket, it would do more towards abolishing slavery, than all the moral suasion we could use in a year. With earthquake-power it would make the old bastile of oppression rock to it foundations. The grand union, from which this tremendous influence would result, he is striving by every argument he can use, to prevent.

We might assign many more reasons, but we should only recapitulate what we have said in our paper from time to time.

If it be a fact that Abolitionists will injure the first and leading interest by sustaining a slavery ticket, that is, by voting against their own cause, Mr. Rankin's argument drawn from the claims of subordinate interests, is overthrown. But before dismissing it in this summary way, we shall pay some attention to the remarks he makes on the three other interests.

WHETHER OTHER INTERESTS WILL BE PROMOTED.

After assuming, that Abolitionists can do no harm or good to the anti-slavery cause, by voting for either of the two candidates, he proceeds to say, that it is their duty to attend to the three other interests, and vote for that candidate who will do most to promote them. These interests are, "the protection of the Indians," "the security of the liberty we now possess," and the establishment of a sound "currency."

He strives to show that a national bank is necessary to the accomplishment of the last object, and that its creation of course depends on the election of General Harrison. It is difficult to keep such topics out of our paper at this time; and it is not to be presumed that anti-slavery editors have not their own opinions respecting them. Nevertheless, I shall abstain from any discussion on this question. Mr. Rankin's argument for a bank is before our readers. He thinks that the welfare of the country requires its establishment; and, therefore, inasmuch as no harm can be done to the anti-slavery cause by the election of General Harrison, that Abolitionists ought to vote for him. He seems to have forgotten that there are Abolitionists who believe a national bank a national curse, and judge that a sub-treasury is vital to the country's welfare. Such, taking Mr. Rankin's principle, viz: that, seeing both candidates stand on a level in regard to slavery, and nothing is to be gained or lost to abolition by the election of either, Abolitionists ought to vote for the one who will best promote the other interests of the country,—such, we say, would come to a conclusion directly opposite to that of Mr. Rankin. They would vote for Mr. Van Buren. And now we would ask our friend, how long will it be before the anti-slavery forces of this country are united against slavery, while leading anti-slavery men sanction a principle which will justify the Democrat and Whig in supporting their respective parties, notwithstanding the utter and abominable pro-slavery wickedness of their leaders. Surely, Mr. Rankin's policy will never bring anti-slavery men to act in one solid phalanx. We say to Abolitionists of both political parties, when their leaders are pledged against the first interest of the nation, abandon your parties—let the dead bury their dead—lay aside your differences regarding minor interests, and unite in one determined body, in support of the great cause of human rights. Mr. Rankin says, "No; abide where you are, Whig abolitionists! True, your party is sold to iniquity, and your candidates have sworn allegiance to the slaveholder. But, you can do something for the currency." They remain where they are, support a slavery ticket, and try to save the currency. "Stay where you are," cries a leading Abolitionist to the Democrat. "Our party, I admit, is but the minister of slavery, and our candidate its sworn protector; but the other party is just as bad, so you must do what you can for the other interests of the country." They remain in the ranks, support a ticket pledged to oppression, and try to save the *sub-treasury!*

Mr. Rankin—when, I ask again, will your policy unite Abolitionists in defence of the first and greatest interest? Never, never. Enough belong to both parties, if they would only come out and bind themselves together in single-eyed devotion to the great anti-slavery interest, to teach politicians such a lesson, that hereafter one party at the North at least would not dare to put up a pro-slavery candidate. What good does Mr. Rankin propose to himself by preventing the incipient efforts towards such a union? Slavery will never be abolished till this union be formed.—There are anti-slavery voters enough now to form an effective one. And it never will be formed, until some make the first effort. What good, we ask, does Mr. Rankin propose, by throwing obstacles in the way of these efforts, and encouraging partisan Abolitionists to hold fast by their corrupt parties? Surely, he must be poorly repaid in consolation, who strives to prevent Abolitionists from voting in favor of the greatest interest of the country, and to persuade them to support a slavery ticket, for the sake of promoting a sound currency! If any correspondent choose to reply to the currency argument of Mr. Rankin, he is at liberty to do so, in as brief way as that in which the argument has been stated.

But there are two other interests at stake—"the security of the liberty we now possess, and the protection of the Indians."

As to the dangers with which our liberties are threatened by this or any other federal executive, we are not greatly troubled. The truth is, we are so little of a partizan, that we cannot but smile at the terrible predictions of some of our orators, respecting the ruin which is soon to engulph all our free institutions. Whenever Mr. Rankin shall point us out any real causes for alarm, we shall be willing to devote more time to this part of his argument.

PROTECTION OF THE INDIANS.

Without further remark then, we proceed to consider his opinions in regard to the second interest, "the protection of the Indians"—"Under those former presidents," says Mr. Rankin, (meaning Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and J. Q. Adams,) "treaties with the Indians were regarded. The Georgians were restrained from their robberies of the Cherokees till the reign of Jackson. It was then that the missionaries who labored among that ruined tribe were put in the penitentiary. And since that time the Georgians have divided by lot the lands of that people, while the rightful owners have been gathered up like cattle, and driven from their homes to a distant territory in which a large portion of them have perished."

1. This statement is made with an air of confidence well calculated to deceive the superficial reader. It was made, we doubt not, in all honesty, but had Mr. Rankin studied well the history of the policy of our government from its establishment in regard to the Indian tribes, he never would have penned such a paragraph.

According to his statement, it would appear, that untill the period of Jackson's administration, justice and good faith had been observed in our treatment of the Indians; but that during his term of office, a radical change was made in the policy of the government, which for the first time became oppressive and cruel. We shall see how much truth there is in this representation.

THE INDIAN POLICY OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

The first treaty made with the Cherokees under the federal constitution, was negociated at Holston, 2d July, 1791. The first article stipulated for perpetual peace and friendship between the parties, and by the 7th article the United States solemnly guarantied "to the Cherokee nation all their lands not hereby ceded." These lands were located within the limits of Georgia. In 1802, after twenty years' dispute with regard to the boundaries of Georgia, a compact was formed between this state and the United States, whereby the former ceded to the latter certain tracts of country lying west of Chatahooche, and the latter ceded to the former, the land lying east of said river, or the line of cession, whatever it was, and west of the Indian boundary, or the boundary of her original jurisdiction, and engaged to extinguish the Indian title to it, 'as early as the same could be obtained on reasonable terms.' This whole country was then subject to the Indian title—owned, possessed, governed by them. The federal government was then solemnly bound by the treaty of Holston to protect the Indians in their occupancy and title; and by the compact with Georgia, to extinguish this title, so soon as possible, on reasonable terms. Take this fact, and then consider the defenceless state of the savages, their growing weakness before the growing power of the whites, the very natural ambition of a state to possess itself of all the lands within its limits, and its unavoidable jealousy of a sovereignty on its own[!] soil, independent of itself, and you have a clue at once to the Indian policy of our government, so far as the Cherokees were concerned. This policy was, inflexibly to persist in dispossessing the savages of their lands, although in a decent way, and so as not to outrage the feelings of the moral part of the community. Accordingly, negociation was resorted to, continually. And are we so ignorant of human nature, so superficially versed in the history of the relations of power to weakness, civilization to barbarism, so forgetful of the Anglo-Saxon mania for territory, so unfamiliar with the pretensions of state-pride and state-interest, as not to know that in such negociation, the most unfair and oppressive measures would be resorted to, in order to induce the Indians to surrender their lands! In the space of fifty years, nearly two hundred treaties have been made with them; and with the Cherokees alone, from the time of the adoption of the Constitution down to the administration of Jackson, fourteen treaties were negociated. Why such a multitude of treaties! Why, if the policy of our government had been to maintain faith with the natives, and protect them in the enjoyment of their lands, would not one or two treaties have sufficed! The answer is easy. The government was bound to fulfil contradictory duties;—it had solemnly guarantied to the Indians the possession of their soil, and then bound itself by compact with Georgia, to extinguish their title to it,—"on reasonable terms," to be sure! But, "the faith of treaties was observed," says Mr. Rankin. So it was literally, for the most part: *for every treaty contained provisions for the cession of tracts of land on the part of the Cherokees!*" "The Georgians were restrained from their robberies of the Cherokees." So they were, because the federal government knew how to accomplish the wishes of Georgia by the robbery of negociation. The Indians were bribed, seduced, inveigled, menaced into the cession of their lands. This was the policy of a great nation, and how could a few miserable savage tribes resist it? Yes, the faith of each treaty was observed, because the government acquired land—it was observed, until another treaty, could be made, ceding still more land.

As this must always be an interesting subject to the American people, we shall quote a few authorities in illustration of the policy of our government, even at the risk of enlarging so much as to excite our venerable friend's surprise.

"Is it not known, said Mr. Peleg Sprague, in his speech on the bill for the removal of the Indians, in the Senate, April 16, 1830, "is it not known that acts for holding Indian treaties have been used as instruments of *coercion?* When our commissioners have met the chiefs in council, to obtain further acquisition of territory, have they not sometimes asked only, what will you *reserve?* And when the answer has been 'we have no lands to spare—we will cede nothing;' the question is repeated, 'what will you *reserve?* Congress have passed a law for the purpose of obtaining a portion of your soil—the United States are strong—their arms now sleep in peace—beware how you arouse them from their slumber.'

"Not only has terror been inspired, but other means have been used, to cause the women to influence their husbands, children to beseech their parents, the warriors to urge their chiefs, until their firmness is overcome. It is told of a venerable chief, that yielding at last to the irresistible pressure, he signed the fatal parchment in tears, declaring at the time, it was the death-warrant of the nation.

Again—"We do know he says, that in making Indian treaties, there have been instances of valuable reservation of lands, and large sums of money secretly given to individual chiefs, by confidential arrangements, to induce them to yield to our wishes, and betray the confidence reposed in them by their nation."

In the month of July, 1817, a treaty was made with the Cherokees, providing for considerable cession of their land east of the Mississippi. It stipulated that during the month of June 1818, a census should be taken of those who emigrated, and those who staid behind, (for the government was *then* endeavoring to persuade them to remove from the land of their fathers,) and guarantied the protection of the U. States to both parties.

"Although," says Edward Everett in his speech, in the Senate on the Removal bill, May 19, 1830, "it was the avowed purpose of the Cherokees, to provide by treaty for the separation of the community, and to leave those who wished to stay, a permanent home, fixed laws and a regular government, yet the agents of the U. States, under the instruction of the department, endeavored *with the severest urgency and pressure, to* COMPEL *the whole nation to emigrate.* For this reason the taking of the census was delayed contrary to the treaty which fixed the time when it should be taken, and the remonstrances of the Cherokees; and high pecuniary offers were held out to them, to consent to remove, or accept reservations, and become subjects of the States. It is painful to read the documents which contain the history of these transactions. After all attempts to persuade and overbear them had failed, the project for the time was abandoned, the idea of taking a census given up, and a new treaty entered into on the 27th of February 1819, by which a *further cession of land was made.* In the preamble to this treaty it is set forth that the greater part of the Cherokee nation have expressed an earnest desire to remain on this side of the Mississippi, and being desirous, in order to commence the measures which they deem necessary to the civilization and preservation of their nation, that the treaty between the United States and them, signed 8th of July, 1817, might without further delay, or the trouble and expense of taking the census, as stipulated in the said treaty, be finally adjusted, have offered to cede to the United States, a tract of land *at least* as large as that which they probably are entitled to under its provisions."

Such is a precious specimen of the good faith observed by other administrations towards the Indians. Recollect that this last affair took place under the administration of Mr. Monroe, who has had the credit among some of peculiar friendship for the Indian tribes.

The five or six thousand Cherokees who were prevailed on to emigrate to Arkansas before the treaty of 1817, or pursuant to its provisions, sickness, wars, and famine, wasted away, until the remnant would gladly have returned to the land of their nativity, if insurmountable difficulties had not presented themselves. They had wives and little ones, and were without money or friends.

The iniquitous policy pursued by the United States' agents in obtaining cessions from the Indians doubtless originated the custom, now long established among the southern tribes, which, as Mr. Bell remarks, in a late publication in the Intelligencer, "dooms to outlawry any member of them, who shall give his assent to a treaty, ceding away any portion of the country, against the general sense of the nation. The same custom makes it unlawful to inquire into or retaliate the death of any chief of the tribe, who may have fallen a victim to it." It was under this law of custom that McIntosh fell in 1826. Such a law is a glaring proof of the perfidious arts, by which the Federal Government has contrived to possess itself of the lands of the natives.

Had Mr. Rankin been aware of these facts, would he have ventured to eulogize the conduct of "former administrations" on the Indian question? The steady policy of our government, while outwardly it may have conformed to the letter of treaties—treaties which wrung from the unwilling Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws, tract after tract of land, amounting to millions of acres—has been heartless and diabolical. From 1802 till 1824, the United States had obtained by negotiation, for the use of Georgia, from the Cherokees and Creeks, 19,927,200 acres! Certainly treaties with the Indians were regarded by former presidents! And this is the policy, so merciful, so magnanimous, so just, that for the sake of restoring it, Mr. Rankin would devote his talents to the support of a slavery-ticket.

POLICY CHANGED—THE CAUSES.

2. The policy of former administrations, says our friend, was changed during Jackson's term. So it was. The change was from concealed to open wickedness, and it was for the worse. But, it would have taken place had John Quincy Adams been re-elected. The causes of it are to be sought, not in the reckless, arbitrary temper of General Jackson, although, we doubt not, his genius well qualified him for carrying out the infamous policy of Georgia, but in a combination of circumstances which would have forced the same result, had it taken place under Mr. Monroe's or Mr. Adams' administration. A few statements on this point will suffice.

So long as the General Government was able by negotion to acquire the lands of the Cherokees, Georgia on the whole was satisfied. She consented to existing treaties, and never denied the power of the United States to act in the premises, while she gained territory by such action.

In relation to the acts and acquiescence of Georgia respecting these treaties, a committee of her legislature said—"no inference can be drawn to her disadvantage, from her silence, or from any thing she may have said, in relation to any subsequent treaty, (subsequent to that of Hopewell, 1785,) because in each of them a change has been made, by which a portion of her territory and jurisdiction was restored to her, and thus her condition rendered better." Georgia of course "was restrained from her robberies," for she had no motive to perpetrate them.

But, in 1824, the Cherokees announced their fixed purpose to cede no more lands. The little left they resolved to keep for themselves and children. Meantime, population in Georgia went on increasing. The white man hemmed in the Indian on every side, and the neighborhood was uncomfortable. The Cherokees gave every indication, that their purpose was settled beyond all change. They had slowly become more and more civilized; and about this period, they adopted a government for themselves, somewhat after the model of our own. The state interest of Georgia was trenched upon: her state pride wounded. The idea of having a portion of her soil occupied by an independent people, of having within her limits a power that would not recognize her authority, was insupportable. All this, however, might have been borne, if there had been any hope that the General Government would be able finally to relieve her from such an inconvenience. But there could be no hope. The Cherokees, once for all, had quit ceding, and they now demanded that the United States, in pursuance of the treaty of Holston, should protect them in their possessions.

It was an entirely new state of affairs, and a new line of policy was thought to be demanded. Accordingly, December, 1827, the legislature of the state adopted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That all the lands, appropriated and unappropriated, which lie within the conventional limits of Georgia, belong to her absolutely; that the title is in her; that the Indians are tenants at her will; that she may, at any time she pleases, determine that tenancy, by taking possession of the premises; and Georgia has the right to extend her own authority and laws over the whole territory.

"Resolved, That Georgia entertains for the general government so high a regard, and is so solicitous to do no act that can disturb, or tend to disturb, the public tranquillity, that she will not attempt to enforce her rights by violence—until all other means of redress fail.

"Resolved, That to avoid a catastrophe, which none would more sincerely deplore than ourselves, we make this solemn appeal to the United States," &c.

In the report accompanying the resolutions, which was also approved by the legislature, the following language is held:

"The lands in question belong to Georgia; she *must* and she *will* have them."

Mr. Adams went out the next spring, and General Jackson's term commenced. The position of Georgia was taken. She was sustained in it by Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and the great body of the slaveholding interest. At all hazards she would have the lands—peaceably, if possible, through the accustomed *pacific force* of the General Government, forcibly, if need be, by her own arms, in defiance of the government. Georgia, it was announced, had taken a stand, from which she would not recede, and "if blood should flow, it would be on the heads of those who opposed the bill for the removal of the Indians."

Any one could have predicted the result. General Jackson took part with Georgia. Treaties were now openly violated, as before they had been covertly. The policy of the national government sanctioned the iniquity of the state, and the result is before us:—the Indians have been forced from their lands, and driven away to the west.

This view of the case proves, that the policy of all administrations, except perhaps that of Washington, has been adverse to the interests of the Indians, in violation of good faith and Christian principle—that the policy of General Jackson, was only a more indecent breach of all faith, and was the natural result of the increasing white population, the attempt of the Cherokees to elevate themselves as a nation, and their fixed determination, announced in 1824, to surrender no more lands—and every candid man must see, that had these causes been fully matured under any other administration, the result would have been the same. John Quincy Adams would not have risked a bloody collision of the federal government with a state government, and a civil war, for the sake of protecting the rights of 60,000 Indians. We all know enough of the weakness of the general government and its uniform compromising policy; of the habitual arrogance of the slaveholding states, and of the power of the slaveholding interest, to know that expediency, not right, would have dictated the action of any executive.

What then becomes of Mr. Rankin's Indian argument in favor of a change! Surely he cannot imagine that, had General Harrison stood in Jackson's place, *he* would have saved the Indians.

THE REASON, FRIEND!

This leads us to ask, what ground has Mr. Rankin for believing that the Indian policy of our government will be bettered by a change of administration, such as he advocates? He assumes, that such will be the fact, but presents not one reason to sustain the assumption. Nay, he does not even assume it. "If, says he, the whigs then follow in the footsteps of former administrations, we may expect some little regard paid to treaties made with the few Indians, that have survived the barbarity of late

From the Dublin Weekly Herald.

The American Colonization Society.

We have received the Pennsylvania Freeman of the 16th and 23rd ultimo, the latter containing copious details of the proceedings of the London Anti-Slavery Convention, accompanied with editorial remarks strongly characterised by good sense and moderation—which is the more commendable when it is considered that this paper represents the "old organization" of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

But our indignation has been more than a little roused by reading in the same paper, "The Annual Address of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society to all the Clergy in the State," in which the following impudent falsehood appears:—"The measures which for the last twenty years have been carried on for the foundation and extension of Liberia, by citizens of the United States are now virtually admitted, by the most zealous advocates of the colored race in England, to be the only effectual ones for the suppression of the slave trade and all its preceding and attending atrocities, as well as for the elevation in the scale of humanity of the benighted millions of Africa." We denounce this paragraph as a foul libel on English Abolitionists. But as it may be, that all our readers are not thoroughly acquainted with what this American Colonization Society is, we had better give them a few details respecting it.

It happened some few years ago that an American stranger, named Elliott Cresson, presented himself amongst us in Dublin. His manners were pleasing, his address insinuating, and he came under the guise of philanthropy. He spoke of the sufferings of the American slave, and of the degradation of the free colored man in America: he spoke, too, of the benighted millions of Africa, of the horrors of the slave trade, and of the duty we owed to those whom we had long so deeply wronged. And when he had enlisted our sympathies he unfolded his scheme, his panacea for the cure of all these evils. What does the reader suppose it was? We will give him fifty guesses. It was simply to remove the colored population of America to the continent of Africa.

We, in the simplicity of our hearts, put two questions to him:—The first was, "What was the number of the colored population in America?" The second, "Are not the United States their home? And as the slave trade has long been abolished; and though the fathers and grandfathers of the present race were Africans born; yet is not America equally the native country of the blacks, as it is of the whites, who were also America's adopted children?"

We soon saw we had touched a tender chord, for our philanthropist waxed warm: he could not, however, refuse to answer us. In reply to our first question he said, that there were in America two millions of colored people; and on our expressing our very natural conviction of the impossibility of *exporting* such a number, he was confounded. And we pressed home our second question: how were we answered? Simply by the very irrevelant counter-query of "How would we like to be shut up in a room with a he goat!"

The whole iniquity of the scheme soon opened upon us. We saw it was a plot, hatched by slaveholders, to get rid of those free spirits amongst the colored people whose presence would be troublesome in the land of slavery—and so Elliott Cresson left us without a sous in his pocket, so far as we know, to aid his ungodly enterprize.

We trust that by this time those of our readers who had not previously understood the drift of the "American Colonization Scheme" will have seen through it pretty thoroughly. It is in fact the worst foe of the abolition cause. It works by oppression. Specious in its origin, it has doubtless entrapped many philanthropists; but when closely examined all its deformity appears. Its plan of action has frequently been as follows:—Emissaries go amongst the white population and carefully fan a feeling of contempt and hatred for those of an opposite hue, grounded on that unchristian prejudice against color which exists to a great extent in the Free States of America. Proofs of this hostile feeling soon appear: the free colored people find their situation intolerable; and Liberia is then offered to them as a place of escape. And this is the system of *free* colonization which is carried on. Our readers will readily perceive to what shameful uses it may be prostituted; that the free colored man who feels *too* keenly his degradation and begins to lift up his voice against it, can soon be *forced* to make Liberia his home.

We denounce this whole system as worthy of conception only in the heart of a slaveholder; as one of the foulest plans of expatriation ever hatched; as founded on that unchristian prejudice against color, which so lamentably prevails in the United States; and as calculated to be one of the most powerful means ever devised for confirming the reign of slavery. Its object is to expatriate, by the vilest means, nearly three millions of the subjects of the United States, *guilty* only of having a skin not colored like our own. And to show the nefariousness of the scheme for attaining the object for which it was devised, we may as well inform our readers, that with ample funds it succeeded in expatriating just two thousand slaves, and one thousand free people of color in nineteen years; whilst the annual increase of the slave population alone is 60,000! And this is the scheme which (possessing in addition to all its enormities the simple redeeming feature of utter impracticability,) is put forward as a panacea for the evils of slavery in America, and of which the ardent advocates of the colored race in England are falsely said to approve.

But we must not wonder at such things, when we recollect how tainted the American church is with the sins of slavery and prejudice against color. Let us however inform the Rev. Mr. Pinney and his coadjutors, that the "ardent friends of the colored race in England" and in Ireland too, detest the American Colonization Society as heartily as the foul and atrocious system from which it has so evidently sprung. As to the Royal African Civilization Society, we know that many "ardent friends" have little sympathy with it, under the conviction that the only way to abolish the slave trade is to put an end to slavery. Yet we could easily, if it were worth while, tear away the appearance of similarity which is attempted to be shown between that Association and the American Colonization Society.

Accompanying this American Colonization Report in the Pennsylvania Freeman, is the indignant letter of C. W. Gardner, a colored man, in which he shews the working of the scheme in his own experience, as he was arrested in the city of Baltimore by an agent of that society for staying there over ten days; and in numerous other instances, in which the most foul wholesale oppression has been inflicted on his brethren. We tell our friends, the Editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman and C. W. Gardner, that there are warm-hearted Irishmen who detest the American Colonization Scheme, and who maintain that America alone is the native land of the colored American.

Ohio Convention.

A political Anti-Slavery Convention for the state of Ohio, was held at Hamilton, (near Cincinnati) on the first and second inst. The Ohio Free Press, whose editor was present, brings us a short account of the proceedings, from which we gather that the Convention consisted of 158 delegates, representing 20 counties. Of these 52 were from the county in which it was held. Among the prominent members were Thomas Morris, late U. S. Senator, and our brother Leavitt of the Emancipator. The most important business done, was the adoption of a resolution, declaring the unfitness of the Whig and Democratic Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates to hold office in this republic; and another strongly recommending Birney and Earle, as men of sound moral character and competent to fill the offices for which they are nominated, with high honor to themselves, and great advantge to their country, and as pledged to support the fundamental principles of our free institutions.

The former was adopted by a vote of about two to one. The Free Press states the minority vote at 40, the Emancipator at 37.

The second resolution was adopted by a majority of 3.—According to the Free Press it stood 57 to 54,—according to the Emancipator, 58 to 55. Forty-five or forty seven appear to have declined voting. The minority on the latter vote we suppose included that on the former, in which case there were only eighteen who opposed both the independent nominations on the one hand, and the candidates of the two great parties on the other. How many of the non-voters in the Convention ought to be added to this number we cannot determine. If all, (which is hardly probable, there would be 63 or 64, against all three parties, 54 or 55 against the whig and democratic parties but in favor of the independent nomination, and 37 or 40 in favor of one or the other of the great parties. The editor of the Free Press, who is a friend of Harrison, is naturally enough unwilling to admit that the convention spoke the sentiments of the great body of abolitionists of southern Ohio.

We have as yet seen no report of the discussions, but from a letter published in the N. Y. Evening Star, should infer that they were very animated.

An electoral ticket of the friends of Birney and Earle was formed, headed by the names of J. H. Paine of Lake county, and Robert Stewart of Ross county.

The minority withdrew temporarily from the meeting, to prepare a protest against the action of the majority.

Pennsylvania Freeman.

Liberia.

Among the items of late intelligence from Liberia, which are going the rounds of the papers, we observe the following:

"The colonists, by the aid of the Methodist mission, are again engaged *in an effort* to erect a saw mill."

How long has that saw-mill been "about to be?" We cannot recall the precise date of the first movement made for its erection, but several years at least have elapsed since. The progress made toward its completion; (if "*towards*" be not too strong a word in this connection,) reminds us of a remark which a shrewd friend of ours is wont to make about the prosperity and glories of Liberia: "They are in the subjunctive mood and future tense."

Another item illustrative of the above remark, is going around in company with the above.

"The colonists are *beginning* to direct attention to the cultivation of orchards—the grafting of fruit, &c."

They were "beginning to direct their attention" to putting up a saw-mill three or four years ago; we believe, and perhaps, if the colony should *continue* to prosper, we may some three or four years hence have the gratifying intelligence that "the colonists, by the aid" of somebody or other, "are again engaged in *an effort to*" cultivate orchards.

These items are accompanied by news of a religious revival in Monrovia, where 70 persons have been received as probationers in the Methodist church, besides other admitted to other communions. A revival was also in progress at Cape Palmas, affecting both natives and colonist. We are told too, that

"The missionary at Heddington [Brown, of slug and buck shot memory?] writes—'We have good times.' A religious revival was also in progress there."

We should like to know what sort of a religion it is, that revives under the preaching of these shatterers of skulls, shedders of human blood till it stands in puddles by the way-side; these severers of limbs, and manglers of human flesh. Is it that which was taught by him whose advent was hailed with angelic songs of "peace on earth, and good will to men!"

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

National Reform Convention.

David Ruggles' Letter in reply to Wm. Whipper and Robert Purvis.

62 *Leonard St. New-York, Sept. 12th*, 1840.

Gentlemen: so verily,—By your letter addressed to me bearing date Aug. 22d, 1840, which appears in the National Anti-Slavery Standard of the 10th instant, you have hesitated to attend the "National Reform Convention of Colored Citizens" which was held in the city of New Haven Conn., on the 7th and 8th of September; and think that you would "doubtless be much gratified with the privilege of associating with the" "noble spirits that" "assembled on that occasion."

But as you "regard the call of the Convention as being exclusive in its character," and say: "if we are right in this view of it the principles we maintain would deter us from participating in its proceedings."

I am really at a loss to define your position—the doubt and ambiguity which appears in the last paragraph which I have quoted, present you both on the fence.

If you are in doubt whether to "regard the call of the Convention as being exclusive in its character" or not, how do you conclude that "the *principles*" you "maintain would deter" you "you from participating in its proceedings?"

The cause of reform, of truth and outraged *human nature*, demanded your presence. You "regard the position the Convention is designed to occupy, as being too low for the moral sentiment of the age;" because the term "colored citizens" is used to designate the condition of the persons who were called "to consider and to act, in reference to the burdens under which we groan."

Now while I recognize the oneness of the human family, I regard your position as being established on *quacre* a suggestion of doubt calling for further information.

What would have been the condition of American liberty, "the great principle of man's equality," as taught by the Revolutionary Fathers of our country in their Declaration of Independence, had they hesitated to convene as oppressed Americans to consider and to act in reference to the burdens under which they groaned!

Their Convention was "*exclusive in its character*," because they met as Americans, *oppressed* Americans.

Their example, the *talismanic* influence of that American Convention, has "been ushered forth by Almighty power," and "clothed in the panoply of nations," "and is now being borne on the wings of the wind throughout the habitable globe."

I regard "the great principle that a man is a man"—that man is and ever has been the same everywhere; therefore I think that a people

—"who would be free,
Themselves must strike the blow."

While I deprecate the policy of employing the term *colored* to designate every act we do as disfranchised Americans, it is clear to my imperfect vision that we shall never arrive to that equality which you so ardently desire until we know our condition and feel ourselves as a disfranchised and enslaved people whose condition is a great remove below that of our *enfranchised* countrymen who plead our cause on "the great principle that a man is a man;" search the records of antiquity. It is no where to be found in history containing the rise and progress of nations from the earliest ages of the world down to the present period of time; from their lowest stage of degradation, to their highest state of civilization, that a people who have felt "*the scorpions lash*, and *vipers sting*," ever extricated themselves from the tyrant's yoke, without considering their own exclusive, their every condition and employing individual, collective, unanimous and energetic action in the cause of reform and equal rights. There is no doubt that while our complexions are recognized by law as the presumptive evidence of slavery, that you will fail to impress your views upon the minds of the people against what you call "distinctive conventions," and that your "hope" "to *carry the principle into practical effect*," will prove groundless.

In America our complexions furnish a badge to our condition as *disfranchised and enslaved* Americans; therefore as our condition is distinct from that of our *enfranchised* countrymen, it would be aping to attempt to occupy their platform as free men and women until equal liberty comes to crown us all with emancipation and the franchise.

Do you disregard the instructive lesson which is taught by the past seven years experience in the example of prominent men who have occupied a prominent place as free men, *equal* in condition with our enfranchised brethren in the front rank of the Anti-Slavery enterprize!

Are they regarded as men equal in *condition* with their enfranchised associates who plead our cause, or as prodigies! Can you point to a single proposition by them that tends to "operate on our lethargic spirits like a galvanic battery on a lifeless corpse!"

Are you not acquainted with spirits, *choice spirits*—that are moved by a much easier process, that can be brought forth by a vivification, more durable than that of "a galvanic battery on a lifeless corpse!"

Are you not acquainted with men, young and disfranchised men, who know their rights, and feel their wrongs; whose hearts thirst for liberty, for their perishing countrymen, that would win freedom and laurels for us all, were they encouraged, and sustained in the field, against the *peculiar* "*patriarchial institution*" of Slavery!"

When we are willing to occupy a position in our cause, where we are regarded as *exceptions* in our condition, is there not great danger of our being enabled to see our own feet.

Can a person under such circumstances, see the condition of his brethren in the shambles, and feel as "*bound with them!*"

I think that we should not be anxious in our struggle for freedom, to occupy a position in relation to our peeled and [illegible] countrymen and women the tendency of which, may lead us to forget, that their condition, is our condition—that their destiny is our destiny.

You think that "we had better be engaged in removing those badges of distinction" which exist in "separate schools and separate churches."

I advocate them not. But since we find them in existence, I think where they do exist, that if properly conducted, they will do us no harm.

I think that we had better be engaged for our IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION and full ENFRANCHISEMENT—then every man will find his own level in "schools and churches" and in every ramification of society.

I am afraid that should "minds become properly imbued with" "the principles which" you "maintain," they would "operate" like "magnetic" power, "on our lethargic spirits," and drive us from our legitimate work in Freedom's ranks, and deter us "from participating" in our meetings, or attending the "schools and churches," which "we have already erected."

Now we and our white countrymen are of the same parentage. I recognize no difference between us except that of condition—while they are, in the full enjoyment of the pursuit of happiness on a platform with the "largest liberty"—we are writhing under the influence of "the scorpion's lash and viper's sting" with cruel slavery—though our right to liberty and equality is as sacred as theirs. I question the propriety of attempting their level in *condition*, when we can only enjoy the *privilege* of standing upon their platform as exceptions or prodigies who are liable at any uncertain moment, to be manacled and consigned to slavery's shambles to be used as chattels personal.

Our every act and every act in reference to us as disfranchised and enslaved Americans, is "exclusive in its character," and "designated by complexional lines," because those acts tend to effect our condition exclusively as down-trodden Americans, whose complexions are the presumptive evidence of slavery.

You ask if I have not "approved of the course of our friend Garrison and his associates, in London, for refusing to take their seats in the Convention, because *one half* of the human family became *disfranchised* by recognizing the principle of its organization?"

I do fully approve of the magnanimous course of our Garrison and "his associates" on that occasion, and regard them as most faithful representatives of our peeled and enslaved countrymen and women.

We were to have been represented in a World's Convention by men and women. When the Convention organized to exclude delegates, in consequence of their sex, the character of the meeting was changed from a World's Convention to a London Convention, at which, they voted to disfranchise one half of the human family, and thereby denied us or three millions of our enslaved countrymen and women the right to be represented there by female piety and beneficence in the person of that inestimable woman and untiring advocate of our cause, Lucretia Mott.

Though Wm. Lloyd Garrison's name has been much lauded and detained in consequence of the magnanimity which he evinced at the London Convention, I cannot see that he did there any thing remarkable for him in the cause of human freedom—he would have acted the same had the Convention voted to exclude man in consequence of his complexion, his course has ever been *right onward* for the "largest liberty."

When I reflect upon the imbecility, nay, the cruel treachery which is manifested towards that advocate of human freedom, by some of our brethren who owe their peaceful existence in this country under God to the early, zealous and untiring labors of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, my heart is big with indignation.

The pro-slavery party malign Mr. Garrison because he advocates the colored man's rights Colored men have turned their backs upon him, because he advocates woman's rights. Some American slaves have become almost white, and thereby become so free, that they presume to enjoy the right to vote against an American woman's right to plead the cause of American Slaves, in the presence of American TYRANTS.

I believe that we and the advocates of woman's rights and American women hold the "staff of accomplishment" against American slavery—and as women's rights are as sacred as men's rights, I did not expect Wm. Lloyd Garrison to turn infidel in the cause, by participating in a London Convention as a World's Convention, after they voted to disfranchise an American delegate in consequence of her sex.

You see that my approval of the "course of our friend Garrison, and his associates" at the London Convention, does not convict me of inconsistency for attending a Reform Convention of colored or disfranchised citizens. Men have a right to call Conventions for men. Women have a right to call Conventions for women, each to consider and act in relation to their exclusive condition when they find themselves exclusively oppressed.

As we are disfranchised, we can assemble as oppressed Americans without disfranchising the human family, or doing violence to the great principle of human liberty.

I am, verily, Gentlemen,
Yours in the cause of Reform,
DAVID RUGGLES.

P. S. The grand reception of our friends Wm. Lloyd Garrison and N. P. Rogers by the colored citizens of Boston, spoke louder and stronger against the slaveocracy of this country, than if they had been received by Abolitionists without regard to condition throughout the principal cities of America. D. R.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1840.

Fifth Annual Report of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society.

This document occupies nearly three-fourths of the last number of the Friend of Man. In another column will be found a condensed account of the proceedings of the annual meeting. The Report is chiefly devoted to the subject of political action. It begins by a reference to the embarrassments of the times, and the dissentions that have sprung up among us, and says:

"Yet, notwithstanding all these marked disadvantages, we find our cause now in a condition far advanced from that in which it stood a year ago. If the labors of regularly employed agents have been more limited, the labors of voluntary speakers have been more abundant. If National and State Societies have done less, County and Local Societies, and individual Abolitionists, (except in the matter of giving) have done more. What has been wanting in money, has been supplied, to a great extent, by individual exertion.—That *local and individual* enterprise and sense of the responsibility, which this Committee have so often invoked, has begun to make its appearance. At no period, it is believed, since the organization of our society, have there been so many, and so large, and so important anti-slavery conventions held in this State, as during the past year."

This is really very encouraging at first sight, but it is true mainly, accordingly as we interpret it. The activity that is so commended, has been, for the greater part, in the arena of *political abolition*—in the third party canvass. We do not call this *progress*. Our belief is, however, that the principles of liberty have gained ground, not because of, but in despite of the political excitement. The elements of society are further developed, and when the present "sand whirl" is over, we shall be able to see that if some of the old friends of the cause have been convinced of the "humbuggery of moral suasion," and now lean wholly on the political staff, that other, and many minds have gone deeper into the springs of social activity, and that these latter will hold with a firmer grasp than ever, the helm of primitive abolition. The third party movement itself, contributes incidentally to this result. By its great agitation, it opens up the under currents of society, and at the same time that it develops the nature of the material to be wrought upon, it instructs the philosophic, the natural reformer, in the operation of *principles*, which determine all things.

The report speaks of the formation of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Society as an important and necessary movement—necessary in view of the division between two executive committees, of the labor of maintaining a supervision over so large a field as the whole state. Following out the idea, it proposes that anti-slavery operations should be carried on more by local societies and committees than heretofore, and recommends sectional organizations, to bring about a still greater sub-division of labor. Without any special effort to produce such sub-division, it does already exist Societies work much more in localities now than formerly. Such has been the tendency of things. We approve of another part of the report which deplores the tendency "so frequently witnessed, in all our benevolent and reformatory operations, of merging the *individual* in the *society*, and of trusting in the mere outward *organization*, instead of cherishing the *living spirit*, which only can give to any association its vitality and its vigor."

"Allusion has already been made to the diversities of sentiment that have appeared in our ranks. So seriously have these dissentions been felt in some sections, that in the prospect of the prevalence of new views and measures in the National Anti-Slavery Society a division has taken place, a new National Society, in the charge of the members of the old Committee, has been formed; and the old Society is under the charge of a new Committee.

"Whatever may be the merits of the controversy then and there, the fact of its existence and of its results, furnishes us with still another illustration of the superior wisdom and safety of the policy which chiefly commits the great interests of the anti-slavery cause to the keeping of a large number of Executive Committees, in different sections of the country, and in the midst of the people who appoint and sustain them, in preference to the less republican and less popular policy of concentrating all the funds and all responsibilities of the cause in one grand Central Metropolitan Board. Whether the jealousy of such great central boards which always exists, be well founded or not, the fact that it does and will exist, is, of itself, a reason why *other modes* of operation should be furnished. What would *now* have been the condition of our cause, if the policy advocated by some, had obtained, of giving up all of the State and County Societies, except perhaps their *nominal* existence, and committing the whole enterprise to *one* great Central Board! By one party it is affirmed that the cause was unsafe in the hands of the *former* National Committee, and by the other, that a new enterprise has been engrafted upon the Society, by the new administration of its concerns. Whether either, or both, or neither of these allegations be partially or wholly true, the friends of the cause in the different sections of this State, and of the other States, hold the destinies of the cause in their own hands, and they will be wise enough, we trust, to *continue* to hold them. In Connecticut and Ohio, the State Societies have taken independent ground, withdrawing their auxiliaryship from the old Society and not extending it to the new This course is evidently the best adapted to draw out the active efforts of Abolitionists, as well as to promote peace; and your committee therefore recommend that the same policy be adopted by this Society, at its present meeting.

"By these remarks it is not intended to intimate that either one, or that both of the rival National Societies should receive no support. Individual members of this society will exercise their original right to judge and act in this matter as they please, while the State Society and its Committee will remain unentangled and unembarrassed in its operations. Undoubtedly there remains a general work of some importance for a National Society to perform, but it is *not* the work of directing the details of operations in the different counties and states. The local position of New-York city enables our friends there to collect and diffuse a certain amount and kind of information, highly important to our cause, which cannot as conveniently be collected elsewhere. The publications containing this information should be extensively circulated and liberally sustained."

"What would now have been the condition of our cause if the policy advocated by some, had obtained, of giving up all the State and County Societies, except perhaps their *nominal* existence, and committing the whole enterprise to one great central Board?"

Very properly asked, too, and not without reason. Such was the *penchant* of the old committee. It is not forgotten that a short time previous to the last annual meeting, the Executive Committee appointed a sub-committee to consider and report, if any, what changes in the Constitution of the Society should be recommended. The report was favorable to the formation of a great central *Leviathan*, such as is here queried about. To find any sympathy for such an undemocratic organization, the querists must go to the American and Foreign Society. The American Anti-Slavery Society will never again approximate such a mark so closely as they did under the administration of those, who now stand at the head of the secession.

The next branch of the Report treats of political action and independent nominations. We shall not burden our readers with a special review of it. Enough time and space are appropriated to the discussion of this point, to move the whole nation, if it can be moved by political homilies. But it can't, aside from the stimulus of "loaves and fishes." If the third party had the gift of *office*, they would succeed. Our political friends are not fair in their statements of the differences of opinion that prevail in regard to their scheme. They do not discriminate between *political action*, simply, and *third party* action. Every body who don't embrace the latter, is in their opinion, derelict in the former. We dissent from this. One may exercise political influence by refusing to vote at all—indeed, one cannot live in society without exercising such influence. That is not more absolutely political action, which manifests itself by imposing public organizations, and ballot boxes, than are any of the less ostentatious modes of action, all of which go to make up *public opinion*. The third party have, therefore, no just ground for assuming that every body who does not toe their mark, fails to exercise political action.

We regard the third party scheme as monstrous in principle, and fraught with danger to the integrity of the cause. We have not been able to see it in any other light than as most unphilosophical If it be valuable only in proportion as good practical results flow from it, it is really next to worthless. But we would rather judge it in view of principles. We pronounce it then to be unphilosophical, because it seeks to build the *dome*, before it has laid the *foundations* of the fabric. All political power is based on *the opinions of the people, and is consistent with their moral condition*. It is in vain, therefore, that we make efforts to establish directly a power that is *adverse* to that condition. *The soil will not bear it*; but if, by the fortuitous relations of two other great political parties, a very small minority be elevated to power, is it not easy to foresee its certain downfall? It might legislate, but so long as there is a wider difference between it and either of the other parties, these latter would immediately coalesce, as though to expel a common enemy, and the minority with all its legislation would be swept away like a dream. And what then would they have gained? Or rather what would they not have lost? All their energy, time, and money expended on a fruitless enterprise!! Let them, if they would succeed, *first prepare and cultivate the soil*. Political power is not an *exotic*. It must be of native growth, to be real.

Nobody can be more desirous than we are, to see our present code of cruel laws abolished, and wise and humane laws enacted in their stead; but the deep solicitude we feel on this subject does not prevent us from seeing that there is but one way by which it can be effected, viz. by *the agency of moral conviction*. We could hope it were possible to produce that change to-morrow, but we cannot delude ourselves or others with the idea that it can be done before the heart of society is changed, and to produce that change, we shall labor with untiring zeal, confidence, and courage.

The report considers other branches of effort. Thus, of *moral bearings and moral suasion*:

"In giving this prominent place to the subject of political economy and political action, we therefore do not forget, or overlook, or underrate the moral, the religious, and the ecclesiastical bearings of our enterprise.

"We cannot separate these varied aspects of our cause from each other. We live in a world of exertion, where all action is subject to fixed laws, and under a divine law of action, which irrevocably enstamps *moral qualities* upon all human conduct. We belong to a race of social intelligences No one of us liveth to himself. Our political action must be moral action, because it must be either right or wrong, either conformed or not conformed to the law of our moral natures. Our individual action must be political action, because it cannot fail to affect, either for good or for evil, the body politic with which we are of necessity connected."

"We belong to a race of social intelligences. No one of us liveth to himself. Our political action must be moral action." Very good, and all that could be asked. Enough this, to abolish slavery, and all other evils—but our friends lack *patience*. They forget that *time* is an element of reform. Mark how every thing is made subservient to *political third party-ism*, in this tremendous "sand whirl."

"The moral enterprise in which we are enlisted is that of 'executing judgment in the morning, and delivering the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor,' of 'breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free,' of 'proclaiming liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.' To enlist moral beings in this moral enterprise, much 'moral suasion' is, of course, needed. And in order to have the appropriate and requisite moral bearing, it must be such as urges to the discharge of the moral obligations recognized in the work we have undertaken. It must be a 'moral suasion' which sets forth 'the duty resting on the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.' Such was the 'moral suasion' of the memorable Declaration of the first National Anti-Slavery Convention at Philadelphia, in December, 1833. Such was the 'moral suasion' for which this State Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and it was a knowledge of this fact that induced the leading politicians of this city, in October, 1835, to drive the assembled Abolitionists of this State, with violence, from this house. Should the 'moral suasion' of our society, from any cause, become so mystical and sublimated in its character as to overlook the social relations we sustain to the community, of which we form a part, we shall cease to give offence to the leagued friends of the southern oppressor, and we shall equally cease, as a society, to be an object of sympathy or of interest to the intelligent and active friends of the slave. The notion that a moral and benevolent society, appealing to the Christian public for support and co-operation, must not intermeddle with political action, goes on the assumption that nothing moral or benevolent enters into our political responsibilities, and that nothing christian or religious is needed in their discharge! To such a sentiment, we trust, the members of this society are not prepared to subscribe.

"So far are your Committee from supposing that the efforts of this society and of its friends, for the diffusion of moral light on the great subject of American slavery will be *less needed*, in consequence of the organized action of the friends of independent anti-slavery nominations, they suppose that this very circumstance calls for *increased activity and prayer, and self-denial*. We can now point to a distinct and definite object of moral and religious exertion. We can answer more correctly and satisfactorily the oft repeated inquiry, 'what good can our moral suasion effect?' 'What can we, the people of the North, do for the overthrow of the slave system?' Placed under new incentives to action, derived from invigorated hopes, cultivating new fields, exposed to new trials, new temptations, and new dangers, as well as cheered by new prospects, we need fresh annointings from the Spirit of all Grace, and constant and never-ceasing recourse to the great Fountain of all purity and freshness and vigor. Never did the exigencies of the cause press more strongly on its friends for increased watchfulness, for holy jealousy over their own selves, for meekness, for discrimination, for disinterested self-consecration, for self-sacrifice, in a word, for all the Christian graces which a holy walk with the great Deliverer of the oppressed, can alone confer. Standing by His side, and executing his righteous commandments, our efforts to deliver our country by timely repentance, and 'works meet for repentance,' from His frown, so far from becoming a source of corruption, may be made a precious means of preventing our apostacy from the fear of God, and the love of the human family."

The report insists on the "need of a reformation in the churches," which it discusses at some length, but we have already taken up more room with it than we intended. One or two more extracts will suffice to give our readers a tolerable idea of its general character.

ECCLESIASTICAL MOVEMENTS AND PROSPECTS.

"Some of the events of the past year may aid in the decision of this great question. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has arrived at the decision that in those States where the testimony of colored persons is not received in the civil courts, their testimony shall likewise be excluded from all ecclesiastical and church investigations—thus making the *slave code* of the South give law to the church of *Jesus Christ*, and openly setting aside the great law of Christian equality in the churches, as established by the Savior himself.

"The General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church has likewise, within a few months, arrived at an equally remarkable decision. At the session of the previous year the General Assembly had solemnly referred the subject of slavery to the lower judicatories, recommending to them the adoption of such measures as in their judgment should be best calculated to 'remove the evil.' In strict accordance with these recommendations, certain Presbyterians adopted rules excluding slaveholding ministers from their pulpits. But the General Assembly, at its late sittings, requested these Presbyteries to recede from their position—thus taking action on the subject, in *favor* of slavery, although the year previous all action *against* slavery, had been declined, on the ground that the lower judicatories should be recognized as holding exclusive jurisdiction in the matter! And to finish the climax of inconsistency and subserviency to the slave power, before having acted against the decision of the Presbyteries above mentioned, an overture in favor of anti-slavery action by the General Assembly was indefinitely postponed!

"Having presented some of the dark shades in the picture of our times, we turn with pleasure to some specimens of the brighter spots with which our vision is refreshed, as we look over the ecclesiastical proceedings and religious efforts of the past year. In a large number of the smaller ecclesiastical bodies of different sects, during this period, (whose acts we are unable to enumerate, in detail,) we have witnessed indications of progress and of reformation, on this subject, which furnish a delightful contrast to the proceedings of the larger bodies to which allusion has been made. Among these, the action of the Presbytery of Ripley, Ohio, deserves honorable mention. Not only has the Presbytery refused to comply with the recommendation of the General Assembly, to rescind its exclusion of slaveholding ministers from its pulpits, but in an admirable document it has re-affirmed and vindicated its position, and addressed a circular letter on the subject to all the Presbyteries under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States. From many hearts, it will meet a sympathetic response. We are happy to know, likewise, that the action of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, to which allusion has been made, has met with the decided and vigorous opposition of large and influential portions of that widely extended communion. Nor are Methodists and Presbyterians alone in rousing to the work of reform. During the past year, a National Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention has been held, distinguished for the high tone of its sentiment, the vigor of its measures, and the talent and moral worth of its members. A number of the Congregational bodies in New England, and associations of ministers in connection with them, have taken new and advanced ground, and some of them correct ground, on this subject, during the past year. The Massachusetts Conference of the Reformed Methodists, and also the New-York Conference of the same denomination, have both, during the last month, taken a high stand in favor of the claims of the slave. The persevering and constant testimony and efforts of the Franckean Synod of Evangelical Lutherans, in our own State, deserve grateful and honorable mention. The Seventh-Day Baptists, so far as we are informed, have not declined from the anti-slavery doctrines, proclaimed by them at their General Conference, about four years ago. In the members of that sect, we commonly find coadjutors and friends. The Free Will Baptists, who were early in the good work, are still making progress. They now take the ground of refusing to receive pecuniary contributions from slaveholders, for the support of their foreign missions, and are accordingly receiving aid from Christians of *other* denominations, whose own missionary boards are acting on an opposite principle.

"In all these, and many other similar indications, we see much to invigorate and to encourage. We see evidence that if the larger ecclesiastical bodies, directly connected with the slaveholding South, are determined to persevere in their apathy or their opposition to this righteous cause, they will ultimately find themselves deserted by the great body of northern Christians, from whom they have been accustomed to receive support, and among whom they have been wont to exert the influence which their position has enabled them to wield."

The London Convention.

Since the real character of the late Conference in London has become known, it is no longer called the *World's Convention*. It were not true to history and to fact to designate it by a name so significant. "All despotisms are united," said one of the French delegates. Yes, and the despotism that denied a representation to the American Anti-Slavery Society, on a pretext that would at once disfranchise half the inhabitants of the globe, had it *the power*, could find one equally plausible for holding the other half in subjection to that abominable principle of *legitimacy* which has never ceased to struggle for universal power. It might have been foreseen that a country where *legitimacy* reigns, was not the country whereto a World's *Liberty* Convention should be summoned. How came it to be summoned there! Thus: *power* seeks perpetually to prolong its own tenure; always jealous that its subjects are plotting for its destruction,—always cunning, always contriving how it can render itself impregnable, it often anticipates the blow which it cannot avert, by participating in it, for the sake of weakening its force by bribery or intrigue. It saw its doom in the growing spirit of the world—in the intelligence of the popular mind, which is now getting too old to be diverted from its great destiny by a bauble, and which will no longer be "pleased with a rattle—tickled with a straw." It saw *principles* advancing to displace brute force. With ready instinct, it therefore summoned the Convention to meet in the shade of royalty—under the influences of an ameliorated despotism which might beguile it into a compromise of the liberties of the world. It has succeeded, but ere long it must play a deeper game to protract the march of freedom, not less sure than the march of time itself.

There will be a *World's Convention*, and it will not be summoned by *power*, but by *events*. Events, too, will fix its locality. That locality will be the freest country on the globe that is accessible, and that is not removed from the influences of the world's society. There only, will rights be acknowledged—there only, will they not be disputed—there only, can freedom deliberate in the persons of her representatives for the good of mankind.

It may be asked, what do we mean by *events*? We mean *circumstances*, which produce all the great movements of society. When those circumstances are sufficiently matured to make a world's convention, or any other measure, available to the general good, the convention or something else will take place, and not before. Pseudo-conventions may be had, but like that of which we now speak, they will avail but little for freedom. The same argument is applicable to slavery—when circumstances become matured for its abolition, it will fall. Let all good people do all in their power to hasten that maturity—let them labor to produce an irresistible moral conviction on the popular mind, but let them not waste their energies in striving to force on society that for which it is not prepared, and which it may never need. In this light do we regard the third political party, for which there is no base but excitement, no excuse but ignorance, and no fate but ruin.

We do not say that events are not now ripe for a World's Convention. The highest wisdom and sagacity, and great singleness of purpose, are necessary to solve this weighty question. The work is not done merely by calling together delegates from the four quarters of the earth. There is such a thing as *readiness to act*, and in a matter which affects the happiness not only of present, but of all future times, and of all countries, it is of the greatest moment that we avail ourselves of that readiness. If it do not now exist, we can *produce* it by the force of *principles*. If it be already produced, we ought to act.

Why was it not foreseen that the deliberations of freedom would be embarrassed by the preponderating influences of legitimacy? We have answered this question, too, satisfactorily to ourselves, and we will attempt to do so for the satisfaction of others. Abolition has nothing to gain for itself, but every thing for the slaves. It has no instincts for itself—they are all for its *object*; and so ardently does it aim to promote that object, that its first impulse is to regard every effort put forth in its behalf with favor and confidence. It suspects nothing, without good reason. The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had a high reputation among the friends of the cause in this country; a reputation that it deserved for its zeal and its labors in the service of oppressed humanity, but which it has now lost for its violation of principle—its offering on the altar of *legitimacy*, and its censorship of the venerable Clarkson.—Such was the confidence of American abolition in the character of the body that summoned the Convention, that it entertained no suspicion of the fidelity and propriety of the call. The result has opened our eyes, which in truth were partly opened at a late hour previous to the Convention, by the correspondence between kindred despots here and in England, which resulted in the issuing of a new circular, so exclusive in its character, that had it been so issued at first, would have met with no response from the great body of American Abolitionists.

There is another question that may be asked:—Where should the Convention have met? We will answer this when a World's Convention is demanded.

There is no doubt that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are anxious that the integrity of the Convention should not be impugned. History asks for truth. It gives us no pleasure to call that integrity in question: but we owe a duty to the cause of human freedom, and to the future, from which no earthly consideration shall divert us.

The British and Foreign Committee, (for *they* were the Convention—the delegates were but conferees,) have sought to excuse themselves by saying that the title of the "*World's Convention*," was a mere poetic *license!* Nevertheless, we assert that such was the light in which the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society regarded it. In their debates on the subject, they adopted, spontaneously, the name of *World's Convention*. They so recorded it in all their official proceedings. No other idea was entertained by them: and when the question of sending delegates arose, involving the necessity of a considerable appropriation of funds, which the Committee were then destitute of, it was urged that the American Society had authorized them to do so, and expected to defray all necessary expenses. But the American Society being composed, indiscriminately, of both sexes, would never have consented to send a deputation to a body, in whose organization the very principle for which they had been forced to contend, (viz: the equal right of each with any of its own members,) would be violated, and their own representatives denied a seat! They would never have authorized a delegation, if they could not exercise their inalienable right, to choose who and what that delegation should be! Preposterous assumption, in the British Committee to dictate to the American Anti-Slavery Society whom it should appoint! and not less preposterous, whether we regard the convocation as applicable to a World's Convention, or to a "Conference."

The British Committee deceive themselves if they suppose public opinion will sanction an act so unjust

to live in an age and country where the Press is free to print, and the tongue to declare the *rights* and the *wrongs* of humanity, and that it is the basest desertion of truth and nature to allow the former to go unvindicated or the latter unrebuked.

We shall *keep it before the people*, that if they would protect themselves in all future time, against the most disastrous embarrassments in commerce, they must abolish *compulsive labor*, and suffer the productive industry of the country to become subject to the natural incitements of *possession and increase*. And if they would establish the prosperity of the nation on a sound basis, and secure the happiness of their children, and their children's children, they must lose no time in sweeping slavery with its nameless and numberless pollutions, into utter extinction.

We shall keep before the people, every fact, every argument, every hope, every fear, of the past, present, or future, and withhold neither tongue nor pen, to bring this abominable curse to a speedy end. And we shall succeed too, in despite of lynch law, gags, stakes, and all sorts of *bulls*, civil, political, or ecclesiastical, and that, long before your "great future city of Bath, behind New Orleans," can raise a steeple or a town crier.

James G. Birney, Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in writing home, speaks thus of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. L. Remond, and George Thompson:—"While many lament that he (Garrison) should embrace the fantasies he has put forth, they yet provoke a good deal of merriment. He has probably a warm friend in Mr. George Thompson. How far Mr. T. is disposed to adopt his peculiar views, I am not prepared to say. Mr. Remond was received at the Exeter Hall meeting, and every where else in London, in the most flattering manner. Had he not connected himself with Mr. Garrison, he could have done great service to the anti-slavery cause in our county. I apprehend he will find himself a good deal straitened in his efforts, because of his being supposed to have embraced the notions of Mr. G."

This is a part of the scheme of *New Organization*, to throw discredit on the American Anti-Slavery Society. All who remain true to the old platform may expect such abuse. We are less surprised at this attack of Mr. Birney, because we know it is not his first act of hostility. He participated in the sale of the official organ of the American Society, an act which has no precedent in the annals of benevolent effort—an act which, in mercantile life, would have blasted the reputation of those engaged in it, beyond redemption—an act wholly unauthorized, surreptitious and malignant. Mark Mr. Birney's present position! The only excuse which he, with his co-adjutors, offered for that transaction, was, the insufficiency of funds to sustain the paper for four weeks longer, which would not have required more than 300 dollars at most. And at the same time they could make an appropriation of double the sum to carry Mr. Birney to England, and virtually *pawn the property of the Society* to secure it! and for what! To represent that society in the London Convention! No; but to falsify its character, to aid in the exclusion of its delegates from that Conference, and to cover them with public abuse! And all this time Mr. Birney's expenses are defrayed in part by the very persons whom he assails!! All this time, the property of the American Anti-Slavery Society stands pledged in the hands of self-constituted trustees, to pay his expenses!! This is really a curious position for a man of his cloth to occupy. His attack on George Thompson, and the American delegates, we conceive, will do him no credit, either here or in England.

H. Teage writes thus from Monrovia, under date of April, 1840. "How far Colonization will become an antidote for American Slavery, I pretend not to determine. It is not on this ground that I think favorably of the scheme, but on the ground that it will benefit Africa." Again, "The natives of Africa are a most imitative people. They delight to ape the manners, the dress, and even the language of those whom they regard as their superiors. Hence the deep debasement and profligacy of those on the sea board, from their constant intercourse and communication with the scum and dregs of civilized society—I mean the majority of African traders." Mr. Teage don't mean that this kind of Colonization will benefit Africa, surely! What then? The Rev. Mr Brown's kind, which splatters human brains all about the roads! No. Gov. Buchanan's kind, which is protected at the point of the bayonet! No; but some other kind, that is yet to be.

George Thompson.

We learn from the Herald of Freedom that this distinguished friend of humanity has a prospect of re-visiting the United States. The intelligence is truly gratifying.

The London correspondent of the Journal of Commerce says, Mr O'Connell is, without exception, what he calls himself "the best abused man in the Queen's dominions."

The Indiana State Convention met at Newport, Wayne County, August 24th. The call was so expressed as to admit the enrolment of any body and every body. The Harrison men, among whom was a member of Congress, occupied the time in electioneering speeches, and defeated the object of the Convention, which was to form an independent electoral ticket for the State.

Our friends, James and Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh and Abby Kimber, arrived from England, in the Packet Ship Patrick Henry, on the 25th inst., after a pleasant passage of thirty days.

Alexis De Tocqueville, the author of "Democracy in America," a production already familiar to most of our readers, has completed the 2d part of his work, which he calls "The Social Influence of Democracy." It is published by Langleys in this city, in 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 355. The New-Yorker says—"there are few writings of the present day, on morals or politics, from which so much matter for reflection or important instruction may be derived, as from this."

William Henry Brisbane has written a long letter to the Baptists of South Carolina, with whom he formerly sustained a religious connexion. It discusses at length, the Bible argument against slavery with which Abolitionists are already so familiar, that we deem it unnecessary to publish it as a whole. We shall give some extracts in our next paper.

Several correspondents of the Journal of Commerce are endeavoring to *write up* the credit of the Colonization Society. Vain effort. They might as well try to persuade people that tropical fruits grow in great profusion among the icebergs around Nova Zembla.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WOLCOTTVILLE, September 3d, 1840.

MR. EDITOR—A Convention of Abolitionists in this State was held at Hartford on the 26th ult. to hear the reports of the delegates to the "World's Anti-Slavery Convention." HORACE COWLES, Esq., was called to the Chair, and NATHANIEL COLVER invited to open the meeting with prayer. A proposition was made that the forepart of the day be spent in hearing reports and addresses on the general progress of the anti-slavery cause, &c. Ichabod Codding said, "he believed that the mass of the people were manifesting a disposition to hear on the subject of slavery, and that anti-slavery feeling and intelligence was gaining rapidly. The plea that the *Church ought to have the control and prosecute every moral reform*, was becoming quite common. Voluntary associations, for carrying forward moral enterprises, are, by most of the clergy, disapproved of: that they had in a measure lost their efficacy. The subject to many of them is offensive. They want to be thought of as Abolitionists, but are afraid of anti-slavery organizations. One clergyman said to him, "he thought the position of the anti-slavery societies now very fair." Why don't you unite with them then? "Why you have, during the past, *brought so much odium upon the cause, that if I should do so, it would seriously injure my reputation.*" Mr. C. said we must not expect a very large accession to our ranks from the church and ministry. (Very strange! since the obstacles which they could not surmount, and about which they have made such an outcry, and upon which they have made their issue, have been removed; and especially since Mr. Codding has declared at our annual meeting, "that conciliatory overtures must be made to bring them in." Their issue was a false one.)

Mr. C. said *nearly one half of those who profess* (and preach) *the religion of mercy*, will stand aloof from us. The work has got to be done by the present friends. They have got to bear the burden. C. P. Grosvenor, Editor of the Reflector, here interrupted the speaker and enquired, "Why the ministers and church members will not come in? Do they not profess humanity? Are they not men? There is something very mysterious about it! Why can't they be brought into anti-slavery societies! Mr. C. said he made the remarks for fear that Abolitionists would be looking for them to come in, that they would be looking to the great men for help and slacken their efforts. The reason why they would not come in, was—

1st. *There are but very few independent men in the world! there are a great many moral cowards in the church and among ministers.!* 2nd. The cause was a very *unpopular one!* The source from which it commenced—the deceptive Colonization Scheme which Abolitionists had to expose, has prejudiced and committed a great many against us; others there are who do not like the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and many other things calculated to confirm them in their opposition. Although they may be convinced that we are right, yet human nature (like Horace Bushnell's) is such that they will not confess their error and unite with us, but persist in their course, or set up a plea in favor of individual action. (Why don't we witness some of it?)—The cause is so unpopular that many will not unite with us till near the crisis. Many of the professors of the religion of mercy have more regard for popular will, than for principle, when principles become odious!

C. P. Grosvenor replied, "*very few independent men!*" Is it so? Then the work to be done is to make them independent men. Abolition is calculated to accomplish that work. Let the battering ram be brought and made to play upon them, and demolish then old walls. If nine tenths of mankind are not independent, where are they? Men ought to be ashamed for not being independent on all subjects.—Who is our master? Shall men tell us to be still on certain topics, that it will not do to discuss them? Who is to be the judge? Community! who are the community? I am one! and must judge for myself. On this principle Abolitionists ought to act, and if brother Codding has taken men as they are, and left them as he found them, with a spirit of servility, he has done wrong. Let them have the truth, and if they are offended, be it so; let Abolitionists discharge their duty.

Again—Brother C. says, "*They are committed!*" Committed! To what? to error: to jail, under bolts and bars! And shall we leave them there? No: it is the work of an agent to bring them out and reform them. Yes, bring them out. Again—In pitiful tones our brother talks about *poor "human nature!"* What is to be done? leave it in sin! No; we must bring it back to God. 'Tis nonsense to think that men are going to do their duty on earth, while we apologise for their sins, and condole their human nature! Again, he says, "the cause is *unpopular!*" and the ministers and church members will not come in till near the crisis." Then let them stay out, if they will not come till it is a popular cause. The question with every man ought to be is it right or wrong? I would place no confidence in any man, who unites with any cause on the ground of its being popular or unpopular. Every man ought to be an Abolitionist from principle. If they are not, they will betray the cause; the very next day after uniting with it, if circumstances demand it. It is said, furthermore, "we can't get hold of some men—they have no vitality." We can get hold of them; there is a mighty power with God to subdue them and warm their hearts. And it is our privilege to ask Him to do it. The word of God is mighty, and I hope brother C. will so wield it that he may gather in many sheaves, and that he will not have to labor alone; that men and women, too, will unite with him, (how? since he has helped to gag them?) I am not ashamed to declare myself a woman's rights man! Let her work in her own way—get up societies among themselves, it shut out from others.

Afternoon. John T. Norton made a lengthy written and interesting report of the doings of the World's Convention, which is to be published in the Charter Oak, I learn. He was followed by Nathaniel Colver, who made many interesting remarks, related many interesting facts, and made a number of malicious attacks on Garrison, women and non-resistance, which "he kept dragging in," not very happily however, I opine. No replies were made to his remarks. He said Thomas Clarkson presided—was upwards of 80 years old—had been one of the pioneers in the sacred cause from its commencement—and manifested no symptoms of repentance. There assembly of delegates was an august one—not composed of hirelings—but of benevolent men, who had come from afar to consider what they could do to overthrow slavery. There was one Jew present begging the body of Jesus. We came together to consider the subject of slavery; but Wendell Phillips brought forward the woman question, which agitated the Convention. The question, however, they soon shook off, and every thing seemed to go on very harmoniously, until the arrival of Garrison, when an effort was made to revive it again. Garrison refused to unite with the Convention, because they excluded the women, which shows that the woman question was *the* question with him, and which he went to London to discuss, and weigh down the Convention with like an incubus. Any effort to bring forward the women and put them in the place of men will receive no sanction by British Abolitionists.—They rejoice that a division has taken place and the New-Organization has their sympathy. Our cause depends upon the success of emancipation in the West Indies, and the Devil knows it, and is trying to render it a failure there and to reduce the colored people to slavery again.

Gov. Metcalf is doing all he can to trouble and oppress the colored people there—he is the reverse of Sir Lionel Smith, who is all that is lovely. Metcalf has chimed in with the planters to tread into the earth the colored people. It is said they are *too free*. Their petty debt law is very oppressive to the laborers which permits the planter to seize their property, whenever they refuse to cash the most illegal and extravagant bills, in which they charge for rent, and afterwards for every tree in the gardens, and for each man, woman and child that lives in the hut, and for all damages, and for every day they do not appear in the fields to work. If a colored man or woman is found off from the plantations, they are taken up as vagrants and compelled to work in chains on the public roads, breaking stones. Many poor people and cripples, formerly lived by making baskets and brooms to sell, this the law now forbids, without taking out a license and paying $5, while every planter may sell ardent spirits on his own plantation without any license. The missionaries in the islands are bitterly persecuted—one is now in prison in consequence of the corruption of the courts. A deep interest is felt among the plantocracy, to reduce the colored people to servitude again, and many of the London and American newspapers sympathize with them and send forth false reports about insurrections, &c. &c. Indubitable evidence can be adduced to prove that the colored people will work when a fair compensation is offered them.—25,000 of the emancipated slaves belong to the Baptist churches. They sustain the missionaries—they have built five new chapels, seventy-five prayer meeting houses, as they call them. The colored people in Trelawney pay Mr. Knibb about £700 per annum, £50 to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, £5,000 per annum to the African Mission Society. Emancipation has worked well in those islands, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made to overthrow it. It has been reported that the American delegates sat in the Convention and heard their country villified, while the British were permitted to cover up their enormities. This is false. British slavery was handled without gloves. It cannot be disputed that our nation is guilty—we may blink at it as we will—it is true we are guilty of the grossest cruelties toward our fellow-men.

2d With regard to compensation paid the masters for their slaves, the British Abolitionists did not countenance it: three or four hundred of them waited on the British Parliament to protest against it. The World's Convention was composed principally of professors of religion, and the great inquiry was, "Is the anti-slavery cause in America a religious one?"

One of the influences of the Convention will be, to turn the attention of Europe to the cultivation of cotton, which they can cultivate for 6d. per lb. our currency. Cotton and sugar can be cultivated in the East Indies to very great advantage, and to the very great disadvantage of the southern slaveholders. If slaveholders will put their consciences into their pockets, we must put the hot iron in there also.—This is what alarms them, and makes them call us traitors to our country. The northern men are also terrified on this wise. One recently told me if the slaves should be emancipated, he should lose a heavy debt due him at the south. I wish every cotton bale was at the south; and let them use them for their defence, build up breast-works as Gen. Jackson did.

Religion, after all, is our main weapon in this warfare.—Slavery steals away the hearts of men. We have got to make Truth to operate upon them. If, however, we have got to wait for them all to be converted by non-resistance principles, I should despair. (What is religion but non-resistance principles?) There are 250,000 slaveholders in the United States, and their souls have got to be influenced by the Truth. Our triumph has got to be effected by *spiritual weapons!* (This sounds a little like non-resistance.) Prayer, candor, and seriousness of thought characterized the Convention. John Angel James, than whom there was never a more lovely disciple of Jesus Christ, advocated the duty to cut off all fellowship with slaveholders: yet there was no agrarianism about the churches, or attempts to demolish them; the question was, "What the churches ought to do, but to cut off all communion with those men who hold men, women and children, just as you do your pigs, picking out one now and then for a roaster."

The great meeting in Exeter Hall unanimously sustained the resolution, by acclamation, to cut off all fellowship with slaveholders. Professor Wayland's "limitations of human responsibilities" has been severely reviewed in England, and is looked upon as a heartless, cold-blooded work. They despise those men who are Abolitionists to-day, and pro-slavery men to-morrow, as just like tree toads, having a color like the tree they are on. I shall continue my efforts for the slave, and hold on to anti-slavery societies, unless they become all non-resistants and women's rights societies, and then I shall quit them. We must turn out slaveholding members of our churches; and whatever comes in our pathway put aside. I would as soon plow up the American Board of Foreign Missions, if it intercepts our operations, or favors slavery, as I would a white oak shrub! (hear, hear.) Whatever gets before, to impede the anti-slavery cause, let it be destroyed. Our help from southern churches for benevolent enterprises is small. One year for Foreign and Home Missions, and Education Societies, the contribution from all the southern Baptist churches was but $800, just the amount raised for the same purposes by a single church in Massachusetts. The Baptists claim 120,000 communicants at the south. Georgia is in a great turmoil respecting the address issued by the Baptist Convention at New York, and so the other Baptist churches at the south: their consciences appear to be disturbed.

But I tremble in view of our own follies. Many who have gone with us heretofore in this cause, have turned aside to plough up churches and demolish government.—(Who more than Nathaniel Colver, put the several parts of his speech together; he would plough them up as quick as a white oak shrub, if they prop up slavery.) Our cause is onward. Slavery must die. Light is pouring forth upon our country. We have two objects before us. 1. To purify the churches. We must conflict with slavery in the Church. (Be careful or you will demolish it by so doing.) 2. Emancipation of the slaves. Go where they may, let every slaveholder be looked upon as a violater of the rights of their fellow-men. Slavery will fall, and northern ministers, churches, and apologists, had better stand out from under it. (No threatening to do that which is wrong to do.) I am astonished at the sensitiveness and extreme feeling of delicacy manifested by ministers and churches on this subject, and their fear of opening their meeting-houses.

From whence does this feeling come? It comes from the *Devil*, (What, demolish such churches and plough up such ministers,) and is raising up a host of infidels around us. (Hear.) Yet I have no sympathy whatever with those who would overturn (such) churches. Mr. Norton said that Mr. Colver did more than any one at the London Convention to exclude the women and harmonize the meeting.

In the evening a young man from New Haven, a tutor of the Amistad prisoners, made a statement of their progress in learning to read, and acquire a religious education, and it was quite interesting; after which a collection was taken up for their benefit. C. P. Grosvenor then addressed the Convention. He thought the doings of the World's Convention would exert a very great influence upon the world. Its sentiments will go out into every part of it, and be returned with augmentation. Channels of communication have been opened by this Convention of very great importance which have not heretofore existed. A national acquaintance and intercourse formed, calculated to suppress every bloody, warlike spirit between the nations there represented. The great agitating question respecting the boundary line, there looked truly insignificant. Instead of any belligerent spirit and threats of going to war, and blowing each other's brains out with musket and cannon balls, the nations were represented to consider how they might do good to their fellow men.

Prejudice against *color* will receive a great shock by this Convention. No such distinctions on account of color exist in England and Europe, as in the United States. Two men, Americans, were on board of the Acadia, bellowing about colored people, and declared they were not human beings, but beasts, as much as the Ourang Outang.

The savaging influences of slavery was illustrated in a striking light by the Convention. We see it here in our midst. You meet with men almost daily, slaveholders or apologists, intelligent, and apparently gentlemen, until you happen to touch on the subject of slavery, when in a moment they fly into a perfect rage, and appear like fiends indeed—full of wrath, threats, and clamor. Such a spirit must quail before the influences of this Convention. Its doings will go to the South, and be read too. It is said they will not read on the subject. They do read, of which I can furnish indubitable evidence. Here he read the doings of a Baptist church, in Fellowship, Alabama, on the address of the Baptist Convention in New-York, in which they proposed to cut off all fellowship with their northern brethren, and send out their money to the heathen through another channel than that of the American Board. We have got to attack slavery in our churches, and expurgate it from them. In this Convention there was a flowing together of Christian hearts, indicative of such a general flowing together of hearts throughout the world. Slaveholders must be excluded from our pulpits and communion tables, and not be permitted to enter our sanctuaries, but to hear their vile system rebuked.

Religious influence has got to do the work of anti-slavery reform. All political movements are of secondary consideration. Indeed I sincerely doubt the propriety of any such movements *at all*. (Hear.) The subject, before being prosecuted, ought to have much prayerful consideration.

Mr. Colver said, that Buxton's plan contemplated the introduction of trade into the interior of Africa, to prevent the natives selling each other to the slave traders for goods; also the introduction of the arts and sciences, &c. The Convention would not entertain the plan, because it was contemplated to carry it into operation by the force of arms: whereas the British and Foreign Society act on strictly *pacific principles*, which Mr. Colver said he thought was right. They act upon strictly moral principles. We have got to purify the Church, and that would purify the world. In doing this work, let us not go into a crusade against the Church, but do all we can to purify it, and we shall enjoy the smiles of God.

Charles W. Denison then "*moved a vote of thanks to God*, for the World's Convention, and the able manner in which our delegates had represented the Abolitionists of America there:" and then, with *groans and tears*, (similar to those of his at the Annual Meeting at New-York, against the women—and then called for them to vote on their side, —that they all should be *gagged*,) made a speech of some fifteen or twenty minutes long, about foreign topics, non-resistance, womens' rights, infidelity, and perfection; to the great annoyance of the whole audience, apparently, from the rustling and sneers throughout the house; said he did not blame the clergy for being dumb, and doing nothing for the slave—but fight Abolitionists; and now hoped that, since they had cut off all offenders, and done away their objections, they would unite with them. His old friends had deserted him, and he had left a dear people to labor in this cause, &c. &c.

No replies were made to their speeches. They did all the "*sifting in*," and went off with all the glory of it, which, I opine, was not very considerable. Indeed all who have since expressed themselves in my hearing on the subject, were disgusted with Colver and Denison, and disappointed with the Convention: many good things were said, and interesting facts, about the Convention; but most of those present had read about all they had come from a distance to hear, in the newspapers.

Thursday morning a meeting was held, to consider the expediency of nominating electors, to sustain the Human Rights' political party. I. Codding was the principal advocate for such a measure; and attempted by a great many smooth words, and much sophistry, to make those present believe that they might associate and nominate electors, to sustain the third party without being connected with such a party; and declared, notwithstanding, he was at the National Human Rights' political Convention, at Albany, and helped in the nomination of Birney and Earle, that he had not committed himself to such a party—was opposed to it. But his sophistries did not take; the vote was against such a measure. After those who who were opposed to such a measure, of carrying the subject of anti-slavery into party politics, had dispersed, some 8 or 10 staid back and made out their nominations.

E. D. HUDSON.

Letter from Charles L. Remond.

LIVERPOOL, Aug. 25th, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND JACKSON:—On the departure of each of the friends for the United States, your solicitation on the day of our sailing, upon the Battery, in New-York, that I would write you during my stay in England, has not unfrequently reminded me of my obligations; and I regret exceedingly I have not time to give full vent to my feelings (if I may be allowed the expression,) on many topics in which I know you feel an interest, viz: the deliberations of the, was to be, World's Convention, recently held in London, for the overthrow of slavery throughout the world. Magnificent undertaking! most praiseworthy object! philanthropic motive! soul-stirring contemplation! Heaven-pleasing proposition! God-approving cause! But, friend Jackson, how far the action of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Conference will tend to the accomplishment of the same, is, to my mind, matter of conjecture. That I was surprised at the whole proceeding, I need not state; that I was disappointed in the character of the meeting, I need not say; that I was pained with the treatment which a part of the delegation of the American Anti-Slavery Society received, you may well suppose. Some may think it for the best: I think otherwise; unless the gratification of new organization is the life, sum, and substance of the arduous undertaking. Who would have supposed, three years ago, the voice of a rational human being would have been stifled upon the platform of the World's Convention? Who would have supposed that the voice and sentiments of a Clarkson, and Buxton, and Phillips, and Adams, would have been hushed, and circumscribed, and put down, in a Convention similar to the one we have had in contemplation for the last year and upwards? No sane mind. Who would have supposed that the mention of William Lloyd Garrison's name would have been drowned by manifestations of disapprobation in the World's Convention, for the overthrow of slavery throughout God's entire domain? Who would have supposed that George Thompson, the colored man's unceasing, devoted, and noble advocate, the West India slaves' deliverer, would be coldly looked upon by professing abolitionism? If this is the boon for which such men have labored, I have grossly mistaken the object; but may God *give*, and continue to them, health, and strength, and talent, still to prosecute the work in which they have engaged; and over the head of bigotry, pride, prejudice, party, denomination and politics, this holy cause shall yet be carried. The human work of erecting a tunnel across the Thames, may be stayed; the steamer across the Atlantic may fail the undertaker; Victoria, through man's perfidy, may lose Great Britain's diadem; Martin Van Buren may lose his election, and Daniel Webster may sacrifice Northern interests and Northern principles to Southern policy; but God has commanded, and all nature cries out, undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free. The law is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy strength, and with all thy might, and thy neighbor as thyself." And who is my neighbor?

> "Thy neighbor! 'tis he whom thou
> Hast power to aid and bless:
> Whose aching heart and burning brow,
> This soothing hand may press.
> Thy neighbor! Yonder toiling slave,
> Fetter'd in thought and limb,
> Whose hopes are all beyond the grave,
> Go thou and ransom him.
> Oh pass not, pass not heedless by,
> Perhaps thou canst redeem
> The breaking heart from misery,
> Oh, share thy lot with him."

Such, friend Jackson, is my view of this subject; and when the day shall roll round, that I am not willing to act upon such principles, I shall become unworthy the name of Abolitionist, if my feeble efforts deserve the appellation,—and most sincerely do I believe the hour not far distant when many will feel and acknowledge the injustice they have done the pioneer of this cause—the man who, alone and unaided, first dared to grapple with American slavery, and called things by their right names—who desired no applause, and refused all favors which should make a sacrifice of principle the condition—who declared, in the face of heaven and earth, that he would publish the whole truth up on this subject, though every tile upon every house-top should be a devil, and bid him hold his peace; he who was unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain—he who, on no occasion has failed to denounce northern oppression in the character of prejudice, branding the nominally free with infamy and shame, and condemning him to exile and misery; the man whose services and sufferings I would not overrate, but in the name of justice and the bleeding slave, I would claim for him that name to which his eminent and never-to-be over appreciated services entitle him—the slave's first and firmest friend. But coming generations will do him justice, though those who were once proud to stand by his side during the days of persecution, shall now desert him and the old storm-proof platform of Massachusetts Anti-Slavery.

Yes, W. L. Garrison's name will live long after new organization has sunk to the tomb of the Capulets, and along with his name will be enrolled upon the memory of the emancipated, many of those who are now stigmatized as "No government men and women, advocates of women's rights," &c.

I must not omit to mention that portion of the colored people who acknowledge the genuineness of Mr. Garrison's abolitionism, but who would desert him as Abolitionists, because he holds to doctrines with which they have no sympathy. Were they true in their first love, and consistent with their first adopted principles, they would adhere to the old platform, though W. L. Garrison turned Infidel or Socialist. No local jealousy should swerve us from our first position, unless that proves to be unsustainable in first principles, and this no one pretends to question. But when I commenced, I did not think of writing a letter, and the clock is now striking 12, P. M., and you will not only excuse me from saying more, but excuse my many imperfections and mistakes, together with the scribbling, as my light is very dim, as you may suppose, and I write with a steel pen, which to me is equal to a tenpenny nail. Remember, those who write deserve an answer. Thy letter will be anxiously looked for. Please remember me in kindness to those who inquire, and believe me to be, most sincerely, ever

Your attached friend in bonds,
For the suffering and oppressed.
C. LENOX REMOND.

P. S. It was my purpose to have said something respecting the National Standard, and shall do so in my next, and will now say, may the Standard be one which shall make oppressors tremble in view of their conduct, and coming events. May the good and true give it their support. I wish it had a faithful agent in England: and from no consideration allow N. P. Rogers to excuse himself from the editorial chair. He is the man, and must be its editor.—The paper looks the man, and he can and will sustain it, God helping him. Direct letters and papers 27 New Broad street, London. Again yours. C. L. R.

The Clinton County (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Society has passed resolutions deprecating the State Society's withdrawal of auxiliaryship to the American Society, and requesting the Editor of the Philanthropist to publish the addresses of *both* the societies at New-York.

New-York State Anti-Slavery Society.

The meeting of this Society was held in Utica last week. It was a thin meeting; probably not more than 100 members of the Society being present.

Among other business, the Society was committed to the third party by a majority of about two to one.

We shall enter no complaint against the course pursued, though, we think that duty to the bleeding cause of crushed humanity demands that we mention a few facts, which will show, conclusively, the pernicious influence of party spirit.

When the resolution came up committing the Society into the hands of a political party, those in favor of the resolution were heard in its support. Afterwards, those opposed to the measure commenced a reply, and while Spencer Kellogg, the third speaker had the floor, one of the friends of the third party moved the *previous question*, thus gagging all discussion on the subject, though several of us had designed to make remarks. This abuse of Anti-Slavery rights has produced no small degree of sensation in the Anti-Slavery ranks, and has driven some of the most firm friends of the slave from the Society.

When we found that *party* had taken possession of the vessel, and free discussion was cloven down, we returned home, as having nothing further to do in the *New Organization*.

We are informed by a good brother who remained on the ground, they became more strenuous before they closed the session. James C. Fuller, one of the first and warmest advocates of God's poor was gagged three times and finally left the meeting. In addition to this, the Committee whose business it was to have called on brother Fuller to give a statement of the doings of the World's Convention, he being the delegate of the State Society to that Convention, in their zeal for their political purposes neglected to give him an opportunity to make his report. These facts, with others, have occasioned great uneasiness and will result in the abandonment of the Society, by all but political partizans.

Another fact still. During the discussion on the political resolutions, a resolution was presented declaring that the Executive Committee should not be permitted to use the funds of the Society for the object of printing the Friend of Man Extra, or handbills for Electioneering purposes.—This resolution was voted down by about two against one.

Thus are the funds to be used for electioneering purposes! Why do not the Whigs and Administrationists come in for a share? How are the mighty fallen! This is what we have predicted. And we are expecting still clearer developements than these. Let Abolitionists be on their guard. Let them be true to first principles, and rally round the original standard, and wield manfully the "weapons which are not carnal, but are mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds."—*Union Herald.*

The following is from the Georgetown, (Del.) Rebublican:

Caution to Slave Owners.—We admonish the owners of Slaves in Sussex County to be on their guard, as it is rumored that a certain negro trader from Maryland is lurking about the country, ready to pounce upon his prey. Rumor has it, that this fellow is connected with certain *gentlemen* negro traders of this county, who have in their employ a few free negroes, whose business is to entice the slaves to leave their masters, under the pretence of aiding them in escaping from servitude, but as soon as they arrive at a noticed habitation a few miles from Georgetown they are caged, and from thence transported into Maryland. We say look out!

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The thirty-first anniversary of this Institution was held in Providence, R. I., commencing on the 9th inst. About 40 corporate and 130 honorary members were present. Among the subjects acted upon by this body during their sitting, was the propriety of receiving into the Treasury of the Board, funds collected from churches in slave-holding States. A memorial was received from several Ministers of Western New-York, respectfully requesting the Board to withdraw its agents from slave-holding churches, or to instruct such agents to faithfully and honestly bear their testimony against the sin of slavery. The memorial was at first laid upon the table, but subsequently referred to a committee,—Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, Conn., chairman. This committee reported, that the views of the memorialists were entitled to serious consideration, inasmuch as the offerings of sin would not be acceptable to the Lord; neither would He bless the efforts of the Board, if sustained by the wages of oppression; but that it was a difficult matter to judge of the moral character of actions, and that to carry out the desires of the memorialists, would lead to so much practical difficulty, that the Board could not properly grant them.

However we may feel in reference to the conclusion of the Board, we cannot but rejoice in their respectful treatment of the memorial, particularly when we remember the course pursued by most of the large religious societies and bodies of the day. It is one of the many evidences which we have of the gradual advancement of the holy cause of Emancipation—of the silent progress of the wave, that slowly, yet surely, is washing away Southern influence from the exercise of that power it has heretofore so fearfully exerted in all the benevolent enterprises of the day. We hail the official recognition, by this body, of that great principle—that to receive the wages of oppression is wrong—as preparing the way for future good; and we humbly trust that its influence upon the churches of the South, will not be lost.—*American Citizen.*

Humanity of the Wolf.—A few days ago seven men were going by Lee's Pond, a lake about six miles long, near Stanstead, which was frozen at the time, when they saw before them a party of wolves crossing the Pond. One of the men, who had a gun, pursued them, when some of the wolves took to flight, leaving others with the supposed sick one, which however, dropped off one by one as the pursuit grew hotter, leaving at last only two with it. The man then fired at one of the two, but without killing it, and they both then fled. On coming up to the remaining one, they found it was an old she wolf, completely blind, as was supposed from age alone, as her teeth were nearly worn down. After her last attendants had left her, she attempted to continue her course, but in a very uncertain manner, sometimes turning on her steps, or going in a circle. The men put a rope around her, and led her to the town. In the woods they found her den, strewed with a vast number of deer's bones, fragments, of flesh, &c, all around which the snow, though three feet deep, was trodden hard and smooth, and from the number of paths leading to this spot it appeared evident that this aged wolf had for a long time been supplied with prey by the assiduous attention of others.—*Grosse's Nat. His. of the Canadas.*

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

The steam-ship Great Western arrived at New-York, on Sunday, the 25th, bringing London and Liverpool papers to the 12th, being eight days later than previous dates.

The chief news she brings, is that the blockade of the Chinese ports by the British, commenced probably about the 1st of June.

Mehemet Ali had refused to accede to the treaty of the four powers. He would not allow the interview with the Consuls to extend beyond three minutes, and met them with a direct and positive negative. The British naval force under Capt. Napier, immediately commenced hostilities. The Captain issued a proclamation calling on the Syrians to join his squadron and throw off the yoke of Mehemet Ali, but it did not succeed. A large Turkish force had been sent forward to keep Mehemet's general Ibrahim in check.—Russia had sent eighteen ships of the line into the Mediterranean. France continues her warlike preparations, and England is not idle.

"*Usage*"—at modern Whig Conventions. The following was at Syracuse:

"Among the incidents which most delighted the spectators, was the appearance in the procession of two large wagons, each drawn by eight horses, gaily caparisoned, and each containing a bevy of lovely blooming Whig girls, dressed in white, and waving their kerchiefs to the breeze. They were hailed with enthusiastic shouts which rent the very air. The question was asked on every side, "what can Mr. Van Buren expect to accomplish with such a demonstration as this against him?"

The Mount Morris Spectator says, the cost to the United States of keeping the Amistad Africans in prison, and their bread, has already exceeded 2000 dollars.

A Lawyer's Privileges.—It has been admitted in the district court in New Orleans that a lawyer, who is employed by a concealed slave, has no right to make known the place of his concealment. A prosecution was brought against M. M. Robinson, Esq., for harboring a runaway slave, because he would not tell where it was, and the attorney general dismissed it, inasmuch as Mr. R could not have given up the name of his client without a breach of his duty as a lawyer, and violating an express act of the Legislature of the State.

Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the Ex-King of Holland, lately landed at Boulogne, with a few comrades, distributed money among the people, and endeavored to excite an enthusiasm in favor of himself, as the Sovereign of France. He issued a proclamation, but signally failed in his attempt, was imprisoned, and will probably be tried for his folly.

Late accounts from the parishes of La Fayette and St. Landry, Louisiana, state that an insurrectionary movement among the negroes had been arrested in time to prevent any mischief. Several of the ringleaders had been hung, and many accessaries arrested. Two white men, said to be abolitionists, were implicated and found guilty, but the invalidity of slave testimony against whites, saved them from execution. They were sentenced to be severely flogged, and to leave state forthwith on peril of their lives. One of the leaders, a negro, killed himself by poison, while in jail.

Ireland.—The London Correspondent of the Journal of Commerce, describes Ireland as being in a state of great tranquillity. The returns to the Home office show a wonderful decrease of crime. "Ruffian offences," says the writer, "brutal outrages and atrocious murders, which formerly swelled the calender of every assize throughout Ireland, have now happily, ceased to exist." In three large cities, not a single prisoner was brought before the Judge. This is attributable to the progress of Temperance. "All the accounts that we receive," says the same correspondent, "are confirmatory of the fact that there is scarcely a dozen instances among the millions who have taken the pledge, of parties having relapsed into their former habits. In all the large cities, the effects are described as most curious, and in Dublin, whole streets are now devoted to the selling of clothes, the rags, &c. The rags that formerly fluttered from the person of the drunkard, have given place to goodly garments; and butchers, bakers, bacon and butter factors, are increasing in numbers and in wealth. Grocers' stores are closing daily, and large distilleries are failing regularly about one a month. The great Apostle of Temperance who has achieved this magic change, continues to devote all his energies to the cause, and is hourly increasing the number of his disciples in manner and multitudes perfectly astounding. Indeed, we must admit that Father Matthew is, without exception, the most remarkable man of his day, and if he should succeed in rescuing his countrymen from their hitherto degraded and almost hopeless condition, and fix them in the course which they have adopted, he, will, in my opinion, be entitled to more honor than the greatest general or statesman that ever existed. It is said by many that the Irish will never keep faith to their pledge and that a re-action will soon take place, with consequences the most disastrous and dreadful that can be imagined. I have no such thought and am no alarmist. I behold no cause for fear or dread on such an account, and I therefore conceive that Father Matthew will triumph with beholding the fruits of his labors in the firm devotedness of his adherents, and the complete regeneration of the Irish people.

Temperance in England.—The London Globe says "the march of temperance is apparently progressive. There is not a publican who does not loudly proclaim of the falling off of business, although all sorts of attractions in the way of singing and music are enlisted in the temptations to the enjoyment of the social cup. The value of licensed victuallers' houses has fallen off immensely.

The latest accounts from Algiers, represent the French and Arabs still at war with each other, and no prospect of peace.

Russia, also, continues at war with the Circassians, notwithstanding successive and disastrous defeats. It is said the Russian army in that quarter is soon to be raised to 200,000 men.

The French papers say that a conspiracy was lately discovered in Constantinople, the object of which was to place the Sultan's brother, only 9 years of age, on the throne.—Within a fortnight, 1500 suspected or guilty persons, were strangled and thrown into the Bosphorus.

Painful Rumor.—It was reported on Tuesday in Philadelphia, that Governor Buchanan, of Lberia colony, had been assassinated.—*Times & Star.*

We hope and trust there is no truth in the report. We are not aware that any vessel has arrived from Liberia or vicinity at Philadelphia or any other American port; and we know that by the last arrival from that quarter of which we have any knowledge, letters were received from Governor Buchanan himself.—*Jour. of Com.*

We understand from a gentleman lately from Carrol county in this State, that some 10 or 12 days ago, Deputy Sheriff Colman, while in pursuit of a gang of negro stealers, of which three had already been apprehended, came up with the leader, a man named Valet or Laval. A fracas ensued, Colman and his antagonist firing their rifles at the same moment. Colman was shot through the neck and instantly expired. The negro stealer was mortally wounded; the Deputy Sheriff's ball having passed through his body. As he stood his ground for an instant, he was knocked down by one of the Sheriff's assistants, and his brains blown out by the other. Such are the details as they have been related to us.—*N. O. Bee, 16th inst.

From the Non-Resistant.

Forest Scene in the days of Wickliffe.

BY MARY HOWITT.

A little child, she read a book,
Beside an open door;
And, as she read page after page,
She wondered more and more.

Her little finger, carefully,
Went pointing out the place;
Her golden locks hung drooping down,
And shadowed half her face.

The open book lay on her knee—
Her eyes on it were bent;
And as she read, page after page,
Her color came and went.

She sat upon a mossy stone,
An open book beside;
And round, for miles on every side,
Stretched out a forest wide.

The summer sun shone on the trees—
The deer lay in the shade;
And overhead the singing birds
Their pleasant clamor made.

There was no garden round the house,
And it was low and small;
The forest-sward grew to the door,
The lichens on the wall.

There was no garden round about,
Yet flowers were growing free;
The cowslip and the daffodil
Upon the forest lea.

The butterfly went flitting by;
The bees were in the flowers;
But the little child sat steadfastly,
As she had sat for hours.

"Why sit ye here, my little maid?"
An aged pilgrim spake—
The child looked upward from her book,
Like one but first awake.

Back fell her locks of golden hair,
And solemn was her look;
And thus she answered, wittesly,
"Oh! Sir, I read this book."

"And what is there within that book
To win a child like thee?
Up! join thy mates, the singing birds,
And frolic with the bee."

"Nay, sir, I cannot leave this book,
I love it more than play:
I've read all legends, but this one
Ne'er saw I till this day.

"And there is something in this book
That makes all care begone;
And yet I weep, I know not why,
As I go reading on."

"Who art thou, child, that thou should'st read
A book with mickle head?
Books are for clerks—the king himself
Hath much ado,—to read."

"My father is a forester,
A bow-man keen and good;
He keeps the deer within their bounds,
And worketh in the wood.

"My mother died at Candlemas—
The flowers were all in blow
Upon her grave, at Allenby,
Down in the vale below,"

This said, unto her book she turned,
As steadfast as before—
"Nay," said the pilgrim, "nay, not yet,
And you must tell me more.

"Who was it taught you thus to read?"
"Ah! sir, it was my mother;
She taught me both to read and spell.
And so she taught my brother.

"My brother dwells at Allenby,
With the good monk alway;
And this new book he brought for me,
But only for one day.

"Oh! sir, it is a wondrous book,
Better than Charlemagne;
And be you pleased to leave me now,
I'll read in it again."

"Nay, read to me," the pilgrim said,
And the little child went on
To read of Christ, as is set forth
In the gospel of St. John.

On, on she read, and gentle tears
Adown her cheeks did slide—
The pilgrim sat with bended head,
And he wept by her side.

"I've heard," said he, "the archbishop—
I've heard the Pope, at Rome,
But never did their spoken words
Thus to my spirit come.

"The book, it is a blessed book,
Its name, what may it be?"
Said she, "they are the words of Christ
That I have read to thee,
Now done into the English tongue,
For folks unlearned as me."

"Give me the book, and let me read,
My soul is strangely stirred;
They are such words of love and truth
As I ne'er before have heard."

The little girl gave up the book,
And the pilgrim, old and brown,
With reverend lips did kiss the page,
Then on the stone sat down.

And aye he read, page after page,
Page after page he turned;
And as he read their blessed words,
His heart within him burned.

Still, still the book the old man read,
As he would ne'er have done;
From the hour of noon he read the book
Until the set of sun.

The little child she brought him out
A cake of wheaten bread;
And it lay unbroken at eventide,
Nor did he raise his head.

Then came the sturdy forester
Along the homeward track,
Whistling aloud a hunting tune,
With a slain deer on his back.

Loud greeting gave the forester,
Unto the pilgrim poor—
The old man rose with thoughtful brow,
And entered at the door.

They, too, they set them down to meat,
And the pilgrim 'gun to tell
How he had eaten on Olivet,
And drank at Jacob's well.

And then he told him he had knelt
Where'er our Lord had prayed,
How he had in the garden been,
And the tomb where he was laid.

And then he turned unto the book,
And read in English plain,
How Christ had died on Calvary,
How he had risen again.

As water to the parched soil,
As to the hungry, bread;
So fell upon the woodman's soul,
Each word the pilgrim read.

Thus, through the midnight did they read,
Until the dawn of day;
And then came in the woodman's son,
To fetch the book away.

All quick and troubled was his speech—
His face was pale with dread;
For he said the king had made a law,
That the book should not be read—
For it was such fearful heresy,
The holy Abbot said.

Extracts from the Sixth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Lunatic Asylum, at Worcester.

"Much (says Dr. Woodward) has been said on the tables of the per cent. of recovery and improvement, and the number and condition of the patients admitted; but there is one benefit derived from the hospital which cannot be estimated in figures or presented in tables of per cent., which is equal to any other that can be contemplated or named. I refer to the improvement in the condition and comfort of the great number of hopeless and incurable insane that have come into its wards, for the amelioration of whose state, and the preservation of the community from danger, the institution was principally designed.

"In the abstract of our records at the commencement of this report, the term 'not improved' is often used. This relates to insanity alone, for in every other respect the condition of a large proportion of the inmates of the hospital is greatly improved. The furious and violent have become quiet and docile; the filthy and degraded have become cleanly and respectful; and the circumstances in which they are now situated, contrasted with the condition of suffering and wretchedness in which they formerly were, will be found to exhibit great improvement and decided benefit.

"While this paragraph is being written, with every room in this large establishment occupied, amounting in number to more than *two hundred and thirty* patients, but *one* individual, either man or woman, in our wards, has upon his or her person, any restraint whatever; five only are in strong rooms in consequence of violence; the remainder of the strong rooms are occupied by imbeciles and idiots, because we have no other place for them to occupy.

"Of this number of insane persons, a very great proportion of whom were sent into the hospital 'furiously mad and dangerous to go at large,' *two hundred and twenty* at least sit at the table at their meals, use knives, forks, and crockery like other boarders, and generally conduct themselves with decorum and propriety. At night, each has his bed, consisting of a good hair mattrass, a straw bed, pillow of hair or feathers, and covering of blankets, comforters and quilts, a bedstead, &c., as comfortable in all respects as lodgers in a private family generally are. It is rare that these privileges are abused; no injury has ever been done with knives and forks, comparatively little crockery has been broken, and the beds have been preserved neat and comfortable, with very few exceptions.

"Many of these individuals engaged in labor and unite in amusements, thus occupying their time profitably and pleasantly, so that few manifest any particular solicitude to leave, or make any effort to escape.

"During the past year, we have relaxed the rigor of confinement, and, in a great number of cases, suffered our patients to go into the garden or workshops to labor, or into the fields and village for exercise and recreation, indulging them in long walks, on a pledge of punctual return, without any attendance or supervision; and we have seen the most decided benefit from these indulgences. At least *eighty* patients have thus gone unrestrained during the past season, spending day after day, and week after week, in this independent manner, and no one has escaped, or, apparently, wished to leave the hospital till regularly and honorably discharged. Not less than an equal number have labored more or less, or taken long walks and rides, so slightly attended as, in innumerable instances, to admit of easy escape, with equal safety and advantage: the attendants, in such cases, being considered by them as guides and directors, rather than as task-masters and watchmen. Another class of patients, whose violence or discontent precluded these indulgences, have labored almost daily under the eye of a skillful and vigilant attendant, and have been made more healthy and happier by the exercise thus afforded them. Besides these indulgences without the walls of the hospital, the verandahs afford delightful opportunities of exercise and airing, amusements and labor, particularly to the females, which contributed greatly to their comfort and happiness. These indulgences are extended alike to all who are capable of appreciating them."

From several cases detailed by Dr. Woodward, of the benefits that have resulted from these and other modes of management in daily operation, we extract the following:

"No. 1. Within a month after the opening of the institution, there was placed under our care a man who had committed homicide. On his trial for that offence, he had been proved insane, and, for want of a more suitable place, was confined in the common jail of the county in which the offence was committed. Here he had been imprisoned *seventeen* years, sometimes being permitted to have the company of the worst prisoners, with whom he often quarreled, and by whom he was often sadly beaten and abused;—sometimes he was a long time in solitude, and occasionally loaded with heavy irons: at all times he was in close confinement, and considered a dangerous man even when under the severest restraints.

"When he first came into the hospital, he was violent, noisy, and often furious; he was permitted to enjoy the privilege of walking in the hall unrestrained, on condition that he would not injure his associates; he soon became more calm and pleasant, and was occasionally taken out to labor: he conducted well, and was soon indulged with greater liberties;—the Bible was given him, and he was fond of reading it; he worked much abroad, and with great pleasure assisted the women in the kitchen to scrub the floors, and in their other labors. He has been thus indulged more than *five* years; he has injured no one abroad, and has been respectful and civil. He now takes his meals at table quietly and orderly, attends chapel much of the time, and, although a very insane man, and at times violent in his language, is contented, peaceable and happy, and, when calm, has no desire to leave the hospital, but considers it his residence for life.

"No. 2. In the spring after the opening of the institution, a female was admitted who had been insane *seven* years. She was so extremely violent for some time before she was brought to the hospital, that her friends had chained her closely to the floor, and she had remained in this position so long, that she had entirely lost the use of her limbs. When she came under our care, she was considered incurably insane and lame for life. At first she was quite helpless as to getting about, but so furious at times, as to tear her clothes, and do violence to all within her reach. By persevering efforts her limbs were after a while restored, and her health and mind improved.

"She went home to her friends and remained a year, but finding that though greatly benefitted, she was not entirely cured, her friends, with her consent, it is believed, again brought her to the hospital. During her second residence with us she did better than before, but still exhibited a capriciousness of temper and estrangement of feeling that showed remains of disease. She was again put upon the use of remedies, which she continued six months, when she seemed to be entirely restored. She now returned to her friends, and has since been well both in body and mind, and is now a pleasant, industrious, and healthy young woman.

"No. 3. Is a case of homicidial insanity, the subject of which has been in confinement *thirty-four* years. Before he came to the hospital, he had for more than a quarter of a century been confined in a filthy dungeon, without the comforts of life, with neither bed nor covering to keep him warm, and infested with vermin to such a degree, that he could hardly sleep if the means of comfortable repose had been afforded him. He declares that for *seven* winters he did not feel the influence of fire, and that on one occasion, a stout and healthy cock lighted upon a tree by the window of his cell, and froze to death; this was the 'cold Friday and Saturday' which, in the recollection of all who felt its influence, was proverbially the coldest season of the cold. During these *three* days, he declares he did not lie down or sleep, but kept continually walking to keep himself from freezing. He remained in this solitary and filthy cell, the object of the sport and abuse of every idle and mischievous person who took delight in the rage and violence which he could excite, till removed to the hospital.

"When he entered this institution, he was furnished with a neat and cleanly room, a comfortable bed, and every thing necessary for his happiness. He had not been shaved for many years; he had not eaten at a table or in company, neither had he used a knife and fork during the whole period of this protracted confinement; he soon, however, relearned their use, and became, to a considerable extent, a civil, quiet man.

"Although the delusions of insanity remain the same, he is now comfortable and happy, he walks abroad at this time unrestrained, takes great care of the poultry, walks about the town and village in company with others, keeps his room in perfect order, makes his bed in the neatest manner, attends chapel every Sabbath, and enjoys life as well as the nature of his delusion will permit.

"No. 4. In the summer of 1834, there came into the hospital a foreigner whose great violence had rendered him the terror of all who came in his way; his beard was long and dirty, his countenance exceedingly insane, and the rapidity and vigor of his muscular movements were such as to excite alarm in all who witnessed his gestures, or listened to his vehement and excited language.

"The first business was to shave him. Accompanied by the steward, I visited his room to persuade him to submit to the operation without restraint. I proposed to him to be shaved; he replied; "not till you put me in irons," and appeared greatly enraged. He was soon quiet, and I said to him in a decided tone, 'You must be shaved; take your seat on the bench, and let the man shave you peaceably, for it must be done.—He seated himself quietly, and was shaved without trouble. After the operation was over, he asked me to give him a paper to show that the shaving was not voluntary, but by compulsion, as his countrymen would not receive him and treat him with respect if he had lost his beard, which his religion obliged him to hold sacred. I promised him the certificate and he was satisfied, but was afterwards unwilling to be shaved, although he never again resisted. He left the hospital after some months' residence, in consequence of its crowded state, but returned *two* years afterwards the same savage, terrific man as before.—He was violent for a time, but became more subdued, and after a while quite harmless and clever, except occasionally a few days of excitement.—During the summer and autumn he has walked the grounds and enclosures of the hospital unrestrained, on giving his pledge that he would not extend his walks beyond the limits prescribed to him. He has been faithful to his engagements, and, although no less insane than ever, and having a full conviction that he ought to be immediately liberated, and that we have no right to detain him; yet he scrupulously regards his pledge, and will not violate it upon any consideration.—He flies his kite, unites in sports with the neighboring boys who are fond of visiting him, is generally respectful, and attends public worship on the Sabbath much of the time."

The whole Report is highly encouraging to the philauthropist, and must tend to augment the efforts of the humane in every region, for the restoration or amelioration of the condition of this wretched portion of our population.

Extracts from the Report of the Edinburgh Infant School Society.

The Committee deem it expedient to preface this, their first Report, with a short exposition of the principles of this association for the purposes of Infant Education.

First, As it is well known that the Feelings or affections of human nature, in common speech termed the Dispositions, furnish the impulses, according to their direction, to virtue or vice, it is important to address education directly to these feelings, and thereby to combine moral with intellectual training, instead of confining education, as has hitherto almost exclusively been done in Schools, to the latter alone.

Secondly, The Dispositions are capable of great improvement by systematic practical training, brought to bear, by exercise, directly upon themselves; and positive institutions, founded upon this truth, are as valuable as they are new to society.

Thirdly, The Dispositions are most pliable, and capable of a bent to good in infancy, before bad tendencies are formed and bad habits are confirmed; and, therefore, moral training ought to commence with the earliest manifestations of human feeling.

Fourthly, Mere precept will not establish those moral habits which flow from well-regulated dispositions; and although example may do much, it is apt to operate only for a moment, leaving the mind that has been swayed by it still liable to the influence of example in any other direction.—PRACTICAL EXERCISE IN MORAL HABITS for the course of time, is an essence of moral training. To attain this exercise, it is necessary to collect infants in suitable numbers, to form a society of equals, unrestrained but well-observed intercourse where the selfish feelings may be regulated, and the social strengthened and improved; in which the *practice* shall be habitual of cleanliness, delicacy, refinement, good temper, gentleness, kindness, honesty, justice, and truth; confirming good tendencies in the mind, and leading to virtue in the conduct;—while at the same time the body is strengthened by a judicious use of air and exercise.

Fifthly, In this manner the dispositions are prepared as a soil for the precepts and spirit of Christianity; and these last judiciously sown, as the foundation of morals, will not, in after life, be listened to merely as abstract ideas on Sundays, with no application to ordinary life, but will be felt as practical laws, regulating every part of every day conduct.

Lastly, Intellectual training, though of secondary importance in Infant Education, should form, nevertheless, provided it be calculated to interest and amuse, and never to overtask, an important object of an Infant School. For the vigorous development of the faculties, before they have been wasted on mere letters, words, and signs,—practical lessons on *real objects*, and their relations to each other and to the pupil, constituting real ideas and useful knowledge of common things, should be the main intellectual occupation of Infant Schools; to which end the objects themselves should be presented, and their nature and qualities explained, while the printed signs or reading will be easily, incidentally, and almost insensibly conveyed.

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The whole economy and system of the play-ground has fully answered the most sanguine expectations entertained of it. *Here* is the true Infant School; the school-room is but an accessory.—In the play-ground are acquired cleanliness, cheerfulness, health, activity, and resource; and social affections are exercised and practised.—The results in all these particulars are most cheering. Strangers are struck with the healthy, cleanly, happy, active and intelligent aspect of the groups. Dirtiness, indelicacy, and filthiness are unknown; and habitual kindliness, civility, justice, and scrupulous honest, rule the intercourse of the little community. Pieces of bread have often lain untouched within the reach of the whole school for days, when forgotten by their owners. Instances of dishonesty have occasionally occurred, but they never have, without being made a lesson both to the little offender and his playfellows. The Teacher having been directed to keep a record of instructive occurrences, has furnished many instances of the practical working of the system.

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APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING REPORT.

Effects of the Moral Training.

1. Incidents to show the good effects of exercising Kindness and Consideration for others, in opposition to reckless Mischief, Hardheartedness, and Cruelty; vices which render the lower orders dangerous and formidable.

1. Two of the children, brothers, about five and four years of age, coming one morning late into school, were to go to their seats without censure, if they could give an account of what they had been doing, which should be declared satisfactory by the whole school, who should decide. They stated, separately, that they had been contemplating the proceedings of a large caterpillar, and noticing the different positions of its body as it crossed their path—that it was now horizontal, and now perpendicular, and presently curved, and finally inclined, when it escaped into a tree. The master then asked them abruptly, 'Why did you not kill it?'—The children stared. 'Could you have killed it?' asked the teacher. 'Yes, but that would have been cruel and naughty, and a sin against God.' The little moralists were acquitted by acclamation; having, infants as they were, manifested a character which, were it universal in the juvenile population, would in another generation reduce our penal code to a mass of waste paper, in one grand department of its bulk.*

2. The teacher mentioned to the children one day, that he had been occupied about a boy and a girl who had no father or mother, and whose grandfather and grandmother, who took care of them, were bedrid and in great poverty. The boy was seven years of age, too old for the Infant School, but some gentlemen, he said, were exerting themselves to get the boy into one of the hospitals. Here he purposely stopped to try the sympathies of his audience for the girl. He was not disappointed; several little voices called out at once, 'O! Master! what for no the lassie, too?' He assured them that the girl was to come to the Infant School, and to be boarded with him and Mrs. Wright; and the intelligence was received with loud plaudits.

3. One day when the children were in the play-ground, four boys occupied the boys' circular swing, while a stranger gentleman was looking on with the teacher. Conscious of being looked at, the little fellows were wheeling round with more than usual swiftness and dexterity, when a creature of two or three years made a sudden dart forward into their very orbit, and in an instant must have been knocked down with great force. With a presence of mind and consideration, and with a mechanical skill, which to admire most we know not, one of the boys, about five years old, used the instant of time in which the singular movement was practicable, threw his whole body into a horizontal position, and went clear over the infant's head! But this was not all: in the same well-employed instant, it occurred to him that that movement was not enough to save the little intruder, as he himself was to be followed as quick as thought by the next swinger. For this he provided by dropping his own feet to the ground, and stopping the whole machine, the instant he had cleared the child's head! The spectator of this admirable specimen of intellect and good feeling, which was all necessarily the thought and act of a moment, had his hand instinctively in his pocket for a shilling but was stopped by the teacher, who disowns all inferior motives for acts of kindness and justice. The little hero, however, had his reward: for the incident was related by the teacher in full school, in presence of the strangers, and was received with several rounds of hearty applause.

4. J. J. accused H. S. of having eat up J. J.'s dinner. It was proved by several witnesses, that H. S. not only appropriated the dinner, but used force. The charge being proved to the satisfaction of the *Jury*, (the whole school) the same tribunal was requested by the teacher to decide what should be the consequences to the convict. One orator rose and suggested, that as H. S. had not yet eat his own dinner, he ought to give it to J. J. This motion, for the children always welcome any reasonable substitute for corporal punishment, was carried by acclamation. When one o'clock came, and the dinner was handed over, *coram publico*, to J. J., H. S. was observed by him to be in tears, and lingering near his *own* dinner. They were by this time nearly alone, but the teacher was watching the result. The tears were too much for J. J., who went to H. S., threw his arms about his neck, told him not to cry, but to sit down and take half. This invitation was of course accepted by H. S., who manifested a great inferiority of character to the other, and furnished an example of the blindness of the unjust to the justice of retribution, which *they* always feel to be mere revenge and cruelty. He could not bear to see J. J. even sharing *his* dinner, and told him with bitterness that he would tell his mother.—'Weel, weel!' said the generous child, 'I'll gie y'd a' back again.' Of course, the teacher interfered to prevent this gross injustice; and in the afternoon made their school-fellows completely aware of the part each had acted. It is not easy to render a character like that of H. S. liberal; but a long course of such *practice*, for precept is impotent in such cases, might much modify what in after life would have turned out a selfish unjust, and unsocial character.

* This instance of practical mercy occurred strongly to my mind one day last spring in London; when passing along a street, I saw several big boys with a live mouse at the end of a string; I returned in a few minutes the same way, and found they had killed it, and were *beating it to atoms with their sticks!!*

From the London Monthly Chronicle for September.

J. J. Audubon, the American Ornithologist.

AUDUBON is at home in his own majestic region of primitive forests and foaming rivers, and giant mountains. Great in the unstained simplicity of his nature, he stands alone among naturalists. He has accomplished in action more than was ever dreamed of by the elegant Buffon or the romantic Waterton. He has combined science and poetry into one magnificent whole, and produced, in his 'Birds of America,' a work that must remain to the end of time a monument of unexampled perseverance, worthy of an ardent lover of Nature. It is the only work that represents birds as they are; presenting, in a single view, their forms, their habits, and their climates. All other works take single phases, and at best are nothing better than illustrative memoirs; but here is the bird in all its ways of life—in pursuit of its prey, if it be voracious, or flying from pursuit, according to its nature—building its nest, fostering its young, poised on the tip of a spray, hovering over the sedgy margin of a lake, cowering in a fen, or sailing in the clouds;—we have it in all its characteristic objects—in love, in contest, from the shell to the museum. This is the ideal of high art, carrying us out of the descriptive catalogue into the green woods, and giving us the whole history of these races in a single *tableau*.

Audubon is exactly the sort of a man in whom this true love of Nature might be expected to be predominant over all other objects. He spent a princely fortune on that magnificent work; and to the eternal disgrace of England, we believe his subscribers in that country were not sufficient to pay the expenses of one of his numerous journeys into the far West in search of specimens. But the courtesy with which he was received!—the panegyrics that were showered upon him from the highest quarters!—the wonder, and curiosity, and admiration his labors excited!—these were the rewards which the living Audubon enjoyed, to be eclipsed, no doubt, by marble tributes and literary memorials, when he shall be called to another state of existence—a translation which we trust, may be far distant. How intensely Audubon despised all this ceremonial flattery and hollow protestation! With what inborn pride of heart he looked down upon the empty gorgeousness of our artificial society! His life had been a life of energy passed in the forests and on the broad lakes; he had communed with Nature in her grandest solitudes, and he sickened at the effeminate pomp and pampered selfishness of the old world. There never breathed a finer spirit. Cast in a manly mould, fitted for toil, stamped with the noble attributes of courage, patience, and hearty enthusiasm, no dangers appalled, no disappointments discouraged him; and whatever enterprises he undertook in the pursuit of his favorite science were prosecuted with a vigor which can be intelligible only to natures capable of a similar integrity of purpose. His 'Ornithological Biography' is a monument of extraordinary labor. The vastness of the design startled every body except himself; and the very apprehension that he should not live long enough to complete so gigantic an undertaking repelled many people from venturing even to purchase the numbers as they appeared, lest an imperfect publication of such magnitude should be ultimately left upon their hands. When he delivered his first drawings to the engraver he had not a single subscriber. His friends pointed out to him the rashness of the project, and candidly told him that they did not expect to witness the issue of a second fasciculous. Even at starting he calculated that the engravers would take sixteen years in accomplishing their task. Not one single individual held out the least hope of his success, and many sincere and anxious friends strongly urged him to abandon his undertaking, to dispose of his drawings, and return to his native country. "But," he exclaims, "my heart was nerved, and my reliance on that Power, on whom all must depend, brought bright anticipations of success! Having completed his arrangement for meeting the first difficulties, he began to collect scattered notes from the pages of his journals respecting the habits of the birds, and assiduously devoted himself to the improvement of his drawings.—He had the satisfaction of finding that each succeeding plate was superior to its predecessor; the engravers and colorist became more familiar with the peculiar demands of their responsible duties; and at the end of four years, during which he worked early and late without respite, and against incredible discouragements, he was rewarded by finding the first volume completed. He now labored with renewed zeal, and looked forward confidently to the result of the next four years. Time passed on, and he returned from the forests and wilds of the Western world to receive the last plate of his second volume from the hands of his indefatigable and skilful artist, Mr. Havell Let us now give his own account of an incident that occurred at this period:

"About that time a nobleman called upon me with his family, and requested me to show them some of my original drawings, which I did with the more pleasure that my visitors possessed a knowledge of ornithology. In the course of our conversation I was asked how long it might be until my work should be finished. When I mentioned eight years more, the nobleman shrugged up his shoulders, and, sighing, said, 'I may not see it finished, but my children will, and you may please to add my name to the list of subscribers.' The young people exhibited a mingled expression of joy and sorrow, and when I with them endeavored to dispel the cloud that seemed to hang over their father's mind, he smiled and bade me be sure that the whole work should be punctually delivered. The solemnity of his manner I could not forget for several days; I often thought that neither might I see the work completed, but at length I exclaimed, 'My sons may.' And now that another volume, both of my illustrations and of my biographies, is finished, my trust in Providence is augmented, and I cannot but hope that myself and my family together may be permitted to see the completion of my labors."

When this was written ten years had elapsed since the publication of his first plate. In three years afterwards the fourth volume appeared.—The work comprised four hundred and thirty-five plates, containing one thousand and sixty-five figures, the size of life, exhibiting, as we have already observed, the habits and climates of the birds, carefully drawn and exquisitely colored after nature. And this great undertaking, occupying about thirteen years in the mere production—not to speak of the labor expended in exploring expeditions for observation and the collection of specimens, every bird in the series having been drawn from life by the hand of the adventurous naturalist—was carried on uninterruptedly, without the continuity of its execution having been broken for a single day, every one of the numbers having been delivered with exemplary regularity! A fifth volume completed the Biography; and well might Audubon proudly felicitate himself upon the conclusion of a marvellous task which the most indifferent of his readers cannot contemplate without mingled emotions of astonishment and delight. "Once more," he says, speaking out of the depths of his heart, "surrounded by all the members of my dear family, enjoying the countenance of numerous friends who have never deserted me, and possessing a competent share of all that can render life agreeable, I look up with gratitude to the Supreme Being and feel that I am happy!"

Honor to him who wrote these grateful words, and may the happiness he so well deserves, and knows so truly how to appreciate, accumulate around him, and accompany him with increasing lustre to the close of his valuable life! But little can the European student, bewildered with small impediments in the museum comprehend the nature of Audubon's researches. Alone he went forth into the wilds, as cheerful as the birds, and, with the snows of sixty years upon his head, as elastic as the deer: but let him give a sample of his experience in his own fresh and characteristic way:

"The adventures and vicissitudes which have fallen to my lot, instead of tending to diminish the fervid enthusiasm of my nature, have imparted a toughness to my bodily constitution, naturally strong, and to my mind, naturally buoyant, an elasticity such as to assure me that though somewhat old, and considerably denuded in the frontal region, I could yet perform on foot a journey of any length, were I sure that I should thereby add materially to our knowledge of the ever interesting creatures which have for so long a time occupied my thoughts by day, and filled my dreams with pleasant images. Nay, reader, had I a new lease of life presented to me, I should choose for it the very occupations in which I have been engaged.

"And, reader, the life which I have led has been in some respects a singular one. Think of a person, intent on such pursuits as mine have been, aroused at early dawn from his rude couch on the alder fringed brook of some northern valley, or in the midst of some yet unexplored forest of the West, or perhaps on the soft and warm sands of the Florida shores, and listening to the pleasing melodies of songsters innumerable saluting the magnificent orb, from whose radiant influence the creatures of many worlds receive life and light. Refreshed and re-invigorated by healthful rest, he starts upon his feet, gathers up his store of curiosities, buckles on his knapsack, shoulders his trusty firelock, says a kind word to his faithful dog, and recommences his pursuit of zoological knowledge. Now the morning is spent, and a squirrel or a trout afford him a repast.—Should the day be warm, he reposes for a time under the shade of some tree. The woodland choristers again burst forth into song, and he starts anew, to wander wherever his fancy may direct him, or the objects of his search may lead him in pursuit. When evening approaches, and the birds are seen betaking themselves to their retreats, he looks for some place of safety, erects his shed of green boughs, kindles his fire prepares his meal, and as the widgeon or blue-winged seal, or perhaps the breast of a turkey, or a steak of venison, sends its delicious perfumes abroad, he enters into his parchment-bound journal the remarkable incidents and facts that have occurred in the course of the day. Darkness has now drawn her sable curtain over the scene; his repast is finished, and kneeling on the earth, he raises his soul to Heaven, grateful for the protection that has been granted to him, and the sense of the divine presence in this solitary place. Then wishing a cordial good night to all the dear friends at home, the American Woodsman wraps himself up in his blanket, and closing his eyes, soon falls into that comfortable sleep which never fails on such occasions."

Mark the profound spirit of love that pervades this beautiful picture; and how the woodsman, after the fatigues of the day, kneels in the darkness of the forest, far away from the haunts of man, to thank his God for the protection that has conducted him in safety through the perils of his enterprise. And how much more touching and picturesque is all this, than the most labored artifices of poetry, which, dealing with conjectural images, endeavors to supply by the force of invention all that vivid train of assocations which men like Audubon realize, and present to us in the permanent colors of unblemished truth. A thousand passages might be cited from the Biography in illustration of the vigorous fidelity with which he delineates the actual scenes through which he passed. Such episodes in his descriptive pages are perfect of their kind, and were never surpassed for homely simplicity and natural eloquence.

Alchymist.—The true possessor of the philosopher's stone is the miner, whose iron, copper and tin are always convertible into the most precious metals. Agriculture is the noblest of all alcheymy, for it turns earth, and even manure, into gold, conferring upon its cultivator the additional reward of health. Most appropriate was the rebuke of Pope Leo X., who, when a visionary pretended to have discovered the philosopher's stone, and demanded a recompense, gave him an empty purse.—*Chatfield.*

Antiquary.—Too often a collector of valuables that are worth nothing, and a recollector of all that Time has been glad to forget. His choice specimens have become rarities, simply because they were never worth preserving; and he attaches present importance to them in exact proportion to their former insignificance. A worthy of this unworthy class was once edifying the French Academy with a most unmerciful detail of the comparative prices of commodities at various remote periods, when La Fontaine observed, "Our friend knows the value of everything,—except time." We recommend this anecdote to the special consideration of the *eidevant* members of the Roxburgh Club, as well as to the resuscitators of the dead lumber of antiquity.—*Ibid.*

Apology.—As great a peacemaker as the word "if." In all cases, it is an excuse rather than an exculpation, and if adroitly managed, may be made to confirm what it seems to recall, and to aggravate the offence which it pretends to extenuate. A man who had accused his neighbor of falsehood, was called on for an apology, which he gave in the following amphibological terms: "I called you a liar,—it is true. You spoke truth: I have told a lie."—*Ibid.*

The Tomato.—A writer in the Farmer's Register, says that it has been tried by several persons, to his knowledge, with decided success. They were afflicted, says he, with chronic cough the primary cause of which, in one case was supposed to be diseased liver—in another, diseased lungs. It mitigates and sometimes effectually checks, a fit of coughing. It was used in a drier state, with a little sugar mixed with it, to render it more agreeable to the taste. The writer expresses a conviction that if freely used in July, August and September, it would prove a complete antidote to bilious fever.

The tomato, to have it early in use, should be started with a hot bed, though if raised in abundance it may be dried, which is our practice and may be had at command through the year. The mode of drying is as follows: "Full ripe tomatoes are scalded in hot water, to facilitate the operation of taking off the skin; when skinned they are well boiled with a little sugar and salt, but no water, and then spread in cakes about an eighth of an inch thick in the sun. They will dry enough in three or four days to pack away in bags which should hang in a dry room."

Damp Feet.—The circumstances in which wet feet and cold feet are most apt to cause disease, are where the person remains inactive, and where, consequently, there is nothing to counterbalance the unequal flow of blood which then takes place towards the internal parts; for it is well known, that a person in ordinary health may walk about or work in the open air with wet feet for hours together without injury, provided he put on dry stockings and shoes immediately on coming home. It is, therefore, not the mere state of wetness that causes the evil, but the check to perspiration, and the unequal distribution of blood to which the accompanying coldness gives rise.

Combe's Physiology applied to Health.